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# The Catholic Historical Review

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## FATHER MARQUETTE AND THE A.P.A.: AN INCIDENT IN AMERICAN NATIVISM


By

K. Gerald Marsden*


In 1673 Louis Jolliet and Father Jacques Marquette crossed the present State of Wisconsin to the Mississippi River, traveled its course to the mouth of the Arkansas, and returned to Green Bay by way of the Illinois River—a distance of more than 2,500 miles. The Mississippi, until explored by these men, was little more than a rumor to the white inhabitants of the French and English colonies of North America. Jolliet, on his way to Quebec, lost all his papers en route. The expedition exhausted Marquette and he died on the shores of Lake Michigan;[1] his maps and journals provide the only detailed record of this historic journey. Of this explorer and priest Bancroft prophesied: "The people of the west will build his monument." And, indeed, a statue was erected, but before its completion it became the subject of a controversy over the relationship between religion and the state; a controversy that raised fundamental problems for democracy.[2]


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[1] Marquette's death did not occur until May, 1675, eighteen months after his return from the Mississippi expedition. However, Parkman indicates clearly that his death was caused by dysentery which he contracted in 1673 and from which he suffered during most of the intervening year and a half. Francis Parkman, *LaSalle and the Discovery of the Great West,* Frontenac Edition (New York, 1915), pp. 74-81.

[2] George Bancroft, *History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent* (Boston, 1866), p. 162.

In 1887 the Wisconsin state legislature voted to place a statue of Marquette in the hall of statuary established by the federal Congress in 1864. Each state was allowed by law to contribute statues of two "deceased persons who have been citizens thereof, and illustrious for their historic renown or for distinguished civic or military service, such as each state may deem to be worthy of this national commemoration."[3]

Though the Wisconsin measure had met with some opposition in the state assembly, it was apparently an innocent effort to commemorate the memory of a historic figure.[4] It was also an object of contention in the newspapers. The Milwaukee *Sentinel* opposed the project from the outset on the obvious grounds that Marquette failed to conform to the provisions of the law establishing Statuary Hall in that he had never been a citizen of the state. On the other hand, support for the proposal was led by the Milwaukee *Catholic Citizen,* whose editor insisted that Marquette deserved to be honored by Americans in the same way and to the same degree as Columbus, John Winthrop, and William Penn. A statue of each of these men had already been placed in the hall, he pointed out, and none had been a citizen of one of the United States. The issue did not become a highly controversial one in 1887. Most newspapers commenting on the matter agreed with the *Catholic Citizen* that the citizenship requirement was a technicality that should provoke little difficulty.[5]

[3] *Revised Statutes of the United States* (Washington, 1878), Section 1814, 321; [Wisconsin] *Assembly Journal,* 1887, 1058; [Wisconsin] *Senate Journal,* 1887, 35, 480-4, 737, 745; [Wisconsin] *Session Laws,* 1887, I, 627.

[4] The author of the Marquette statue measure, state Senator George C. Ginty of Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin, not himself a Catholic, was later accused of having used the issue to capture the votes of his predominantly Catholic, French-Canadian constituents, but there is little evidence that this was his motive. Nor was it a partisan issue. While Ginty, the governor, and a majority of the 1887 legislature, all Republicans, supported the bill, George C. Peck, who was to become the Democratic governor two years later, wrote that there was no politics involved in the statue proposal. Furthermore, during Peck's administration the predominantly Democratic legislature passed a resolution requesting that the federal Congress take favorable action on the matter. *Catholic Citizen* (Milwaukee), February 29, 1896, February 6, 1904; *Evening Wisconsin* (Milwaukee), July 18, 1894; *Herald* (Chippewa Falls), February 4, 1887; *Sentinel* (Milwaukee), April 23, 1896.

[5] *Catholic Citizen,* January 29, April 2, 1887, September 1, 1888; *Democrat* (Madison, Wisconsin), March 24, 1887, cited in *Herald,* April 1, 1887; *Evening Wisconsin,* March 25, 1887; [*Wisconsin State?*] *Journal* (Madison), cited in

They were wrong. The *Sentinel's* doubts about the legality of the choice were borne out a year later in August, 1888, when Governor Jeremiah M. Rusk received a letter from Wisconsin's representative, Ormsby B. Thomas, informing him that the custodian of the capitol had ruled that the statue did not conform to the law. Thomas, at the suggestion of the governor, promptly introduced a resolution in the House of Representatives requesting that an exception be made. This resolution failed to pass before the close of the session and died in every subsequent session until 1893, apparently due only to indifference and the press of more important business.[6]

In September, 1893, resolutions providing for the authorization of the statue were again introduced in both the House and Senate. The *Catholic Citizen* thought they would be passed quickly and for once its optimism was justified. On October 11 the House passed the resolution and later that day the Senate announced passage with a minor amendment. The House concurred in the amendment the next day, and the resolutions were sent to the president and approved on October 14, 1893. In the five years that had elapsed since the first resolution had been proposed, the *Catholic Citizen* had doggedly urged the Wisconsin representatives to action. Now, with success at last, the *Citizen* responded by calling for the rapid execution of the statue.[7]

The *Catholic Citizen* was to be disappointed. No action was taken for another year until July 21, 1894, when a committee was appointed to select a sculptor. This committee proceeded quickly, however, and on November 7 the contract was awarded to Signore Gaetano Trentanove, a prominent Italian sculptor. Two years later, on February

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*Herald,* April 1, 1887; *Sentinel,* February 9, March 25, April 11, 1887, August 29, 1888.

[6] *Herald,* August 30, 1899; *Sentinel,* August 28, 1888; *Congressional Record,* 52nd Cong., 1st Sess., IV, 3134, 2nd Sess., III, 2496; *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 51st Cong., 1st Sess., 565, 52nd Cong., 1st Sess., I, 130, 138, II, 198; *Journal of the Senate,* 52nd Cong., 1st Sess., 210; *Reports of Committees of the House of Representatives,* 52nd Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 3045, Report No. 990.

[7] *Catholic Citizen,* September 16, October 28, 1893; *Congressional Record,* 53rd Cong., 1st Sess., II, 2427; *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 53rd Cong., 1st Sess., 38, 135, 136, 150; *Journal of the Senate,* 53rd Cong., 1st Sess., 56-57, 65, 66. There is some confusion between the *Congressional Record* and the House and Senate *Journals* as to whether the House concurred in the Senate amendment on October 11 or 12. *Statutes at Large of the United States,* August, 1893 to March, 1895, 12.

18, 1896, the completed statue arrived in Washington.[8] With its arrival the first chapter in the effort to have the Marquette statue placed in Statuary Hall drew to a close. Until 1895 those interested in the project were concerned almost completely with Marquette the explorer. In the eight years after 1895 the relationship between Marquette and the Catholic Church became the dominant element in a dispute over the official acceptance of the statue by the federal government. In these years the statue's advocates would have to face an anti-Catholic opposition of a determined, resourceful, and virulent nature. Anti-Catholicism is a constant and recurring phenomenon in American history. Much of it is based on the concept that American democracy is founded on the Protestant Christian tradition and that demands made upon Catholics by the Church are diametrically opposed to the American way of life. The result is that many people, profoundly disturbed by the implications of Church doctrine, reject Catholicism as a dangerous threat to a highly valued philosophy of government.[9]

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, American opposition to Catholicism was a by-product of social, political, and economic disorders that led to a search for easy answers to increasingly complex questions. In the resulting milieu of discontent there flourished nativistic and bigoted patriotic societies such as the American Protective Association.[10] It was the A.P.A. that led the opposition against

[8] *Catholic Citizen*, July 21, August 4, 1894, February 22, 1896; *Evening Wisconsin*, November 8, 1894; New York *Tribune*, November 9, 1894; *Sentinel*, November 8, 1894, February 21, 1896.

[9] Theodore Parker wrote of the virgin continent of North America having been put aside by God, "away off here in the Western ocean," as the eventual home of "ideas of Christianity, Protestantism, and Democracy." Quoted in Edward McNall Burns, *The American Idea of Mission* (New Brunswick, 1957), p. 14. Isaac Hecker, founder of the Paulist Fathers, believed that the "great American illusion was that democracy springs from Protestantism." He endeavored to reassure Protestants that allegiance to the Catholic Church was not inconsistent with American patriotism. Anson Phelps Stokes, *Church and State in the United States* (New York, 1950), I, 850. Also see Ralph Henry Gabriel, *The Course of American Democratic Thought* (New York, 1940), Chapters 3 and 5.

[10] Gordon W. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, 1954), p. 224; John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, 1955), Chapters 3 and 4; Stokes, *op. cit.*, II, 399; Donald Young, "Research Memorandum on Minority Peoples in the Depression," *Social Science Research Council Bulletin No. 31* (New York, 1937), pp. 133-134.

the Marquette statue after 1894. Although its members used the same argument that the *Sentinel* had employed, this was but a façade imperfectly masking the strident anti-Catholicism which underlay the society. Organized in 1887 at Clinton, Iowa, the American Protective Association was a secret fraternal society whose self-delegated mission was to combat political Catholicism. Its founder was Henry F. Bowers, a Clinton lawyer, who together with a group of friends was convinced that the pope intended to gain control of the United States government in order to transform the country into a Catholic commonwealth by capturing public office and infiltrating the public schools. Hysterical fears that the Church was building an immigrant army to take the country by storm seemed confirmed by false tales of arsenals in Catholic church basements.[11]

Candidates for A.P.A. membership took oaths, therefore, to protect the interests of Protestants everywhere, swearing not to "employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity, if . . . [they could] procure the services of a Protestant . . ." and to make every effort to keep Catholics from public office. These were secret oaths. Publicly, the A.P.A. phrased its principles in more acceptable terms of good citizenship and patriotism, of opposition to political control by any ecclesiastical group, of profound belief in the sanctity of the free public school, and of immigration restriction aimed at the protection of American labor and institutions.[12] The A.P.A. was little known until 1893, although it had already attracted 70,000 members in twenty-two states. In that year under new leadership it entered a period of meteoric growth and by June, 1894, had achieved a cumulative membership of half a million.[13]

Wisconsin experienced a measure of anti-Catholic sentiment in the Bennett Law controversy of 1890, and though the A.P.A. was not active in Wisconsin at that time, an environment was created in

[11] *Wisconsin Patriot* (Milwaukee), May 4, December 28, 1895, March 21, 1896; Higham, *op. cit.*, pp. 62-63, 81-85. For a more complete treatment of the A.P.A. cf. Donald L. Kinzer, "The American Protective Association: A Study of Anti-Catholicism" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Washington, 1954).

[12] *Wisconsin Patriot*, March 30, 1895, January 11, 1896, and numerous other issues contain a statement of A.P.A. principles for public consumption. Kinzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 498-503.

[13] Higham, *op. cit.*, pp. 80-81; Kinzer, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195.

which it could grow and mature.[14] By 1893 the A.P.A. seems to have been active in Wisconsin, though not as extensively as in neighboring Michigan, Minnesota, and Ohio. In that year a Milwaukee Catholic newspaper admitted that A.P.A. membership in that city of 250,000 had reached 4,215, though the A.P.A. itself set the local membership at 15,000. By late 1894 there were more than twenty councils in Milwaukee and at least 170 local councils scattered throughout more than twenty-five cities. Indicative of the increasing importance of the Wisconsin A.P.A. was the fact that Henry M. Stark, a Milwaukeean, was elected treasurer of the national A.P.A. council in 1894, and became a trustee a year later when the annual convention was held in Milwaukee. A further indication of A.P.A. strength in Wisconsin was the fact that after 1893 its views were represented by the *Wisconsin Patriot,* a weekly newspaper with a circulation ranging from 2,300 to 5,000.[15]

In spite of the fact that the Marquette statue was a topic of some interest in the press, the *Wisconsin Patriot* was silent on the issue

[14] The Bennett Law, passed by the Wisconsin state legislature in 1889 with support from both major parties, required that children between seven and fourteen years of age attend school, public or private, for twelve weeks per year in the city, town or district of their residence, and that United States history and the three "R's" be taught in the English language. Foreign language groups, particularly the Germans, were bitterly opposed to the language requirement, which they considered an attack on their national pride and educational freedom. The provision that the school attended be in the student's city, town, or district offended the advocates of parochial school systems. In the election year of 1890 the Democratic Party attempted to win the votes of the foreign-born population by making opposition to this law one of the major issues of the campaign. William F. Raney, *Wisconsin: A Story of Progress* (New York, 1940), pp. 272-273. Higham, *op. cit.,* pp. 59-60; Kinzer, *op. cit.,* p. 362.

As a result of the failure of Congress to pass the permissive legislation in favor of the Marquette statue between 1888 and 1893, there were occasional charges that religious bigotry lay behind the delay. These charges were infrequent and probably grew out of the ill-feeling engendered by the Bennett Law campaign, but there is no evidence of A.P.A. opposition to the statue at this time. *Catholic News* (New York), April 24, 1892, clipping in William F. Vilas Papers, Box 13, Correspondence, MSS in State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library, Madison, Wisconsin. A series of letters that are relevant to this subject by Edward C. Wall who was Chairman of the Wisconsin Democratic Party's State Central Committee are also in the above cited box of the Vilas Papers.

[15] *Wisconsin Patriot,* October 13, 1894, June 13, August 29, 1896; Higham, *Strangers,* 81; Kinzer, "American Protective Association," pp. 93n, 244-45, 412-20, 441-42, 496. Stark was living in West Superior, Wisconsin, in 1895.

until January, 1895, when it was moved to action by a letter from an A.P.A. member who disapproved of Senator Ginty's desire to commemorate Marquette. "Can nothing be done about the Marquette statue?" he inquired. Must Wisconsin citizens "swallow the dose" and accept the statue just because Ginty had betrayed the state "into the hands of the papists, and that weak little specimen of a political accident, Gov. Peck . . ." had lent himself to the consummation of that "impudent scheme"? "If the [Catholic] watchdogs could be induced to temporarily release our legislators from their reign of terror . . ." he concluded acidly, "this whole abominable Marquette business could be over-turned." Agreeing editorially, the *Patriot* noted that Marquette had been one of "that portion of the Roman Catholic church that has no country and recognized no law but that of the Black General, and which is sworn to use every means in its power to restore the temporal supremacy of the Pope. Favorite son indeed!" it ranted. "Bah!"[16]

A.P.A. councils across the country had suddenly become alarmed. Three weeks after the *Wisconsin Patriot's* condemnation, the *Catholic Citizen,* in its first mention of A.P.A. opposition, noted that several A.P.A. publications had reacted violently toward the Marquette statue. It cited the A.P.A. Boston *Citizen* which had asked "despairingly" if there was not some way in which the statue could be kept out of Statuary Hall.[17] The New York *Times* thought it "lamentable and disgusting" that the A.P.A. or any other organization could stir up "Protestant bigotry" to the point that an explorer and pioneer would be denied commemoration merely because he had also been a Jesuit priest. Assuming the opposition was localized in Wisconsin, the *Times* thought such opposition caused serious doubts as to the "quality of the civilization of which . . . [Marquette] was the pioneer."[18]

A.P.A. members assailed the Marquette statue because they saw in its acceptance an alliance between the Catholic Church and the

[16] *Catholic Citizen,* February 11, 1893; *Evening Wisconsin,* September 29, 1893; *Wisconsin Patriot,* January 19, 1895.

[17] The *Catholic Citizen* was undoubtedly referring to the (Boston) *American Citizen,* one of the leading A.P.A. newspapers. There does not appear to have been a Boston *Citizen* in existence. Cf. *Wisconsin Patriot,* September 7, 1895; *American Newspaper Annual* (Philadelphia), 1895; *American Newspaper Directory,* 1894 and 1895; Winifred Gregory, (Ed.), *Union List of Serials in the Libraries of the United States and Canada* (New York, 1943); *Catholic Citizen,* February 2, 1895.

[18] New York *Times,* March 8, 1896.

American government. They considered such acceptance part of a Catholic conspiracy to overthrow American traditions. Since they conceived of these traditions as founded upon Protestant precepts, they opposed an alliance as destructive of the American way of life and could see no conflict between the American concept of religious freedom and their belief that Protestantism underlay American democracy.[19] They insisted that an implicit relationship between Protestantism and the American government was both desirable and necessary, but that any relationship between the Catholic Church and the state was to be feared. One spokesman of the order believed the statue should receive a "positive protest from every patriotic citizen who . . . believes in the distinct and separate respective rights of church and state." The *Wisconsin Patriot* feared that the pope might decide to canonize Marquette. "Every good, faithful papist would then bow and pray to . . . [the statue] and, presto, here would be the old pagan worship 'established by act of congress' in spite of the first amendment to our constitution. . . ."[20]

The A.P.A. insisted that the move to violate the principle of separation was a deliberate one. The statue comprised part of an invidious plot to aid in the overthrow of the American government. The Church was working to place its signs and symbols in government buildings so that the people would become reconciled to the coming new order. W. J. H. Traynor, Supreme President of the A.P.A., wrote that while one motive behind the Catholic-inspired statue was to identify the Church's hierarchy with the government of the United States, "another and yet more significant purpose" was to "impress upon the subjects of the papacy of this country the ideas . . . that the discoverers, colonizers and civilizers of America were followers or servants of the

[19] The literature of the A.P.A. is replete with the idea that American democracy sprang from the Protestant tradition. An example of this is the following stanza from a verse written to satirize the argument that Marquette deserved a place in Statuary Hall.

O, Nation first rocked on the bosom of God!
O, Nation whose father the martyr-path trod!
Preserve the Good Book which the Protestants learn,
The fountain of wisdom, which priests love to burn;
We always confess that we owe it a debt,
And room for a Luther, but not for Marquette.

*Wisconsin Patriot*, June 6, 1896.

[20] *Catholic Citizen*, March 28, 1896; *Wisconsin Patriot*, February 29, March 28, April 18, August 22, October 31, 1896, February 27, 1897.

popes and that, in consequence, the papacy has a priority claim upon the continent by virtue of discovery and colonization."

It was on these "pretensions" that the Church intended to "insinuate" the priest into the nation's capitol, and to "familiarize our legislators with the principle of Union of Church and State. . . ." One of the *Patriot's* waspish correspondents wrote that it had long been apparent that there was a "concerted scheme" on the part of the Church to fill the capitol with statues and paintings of important Catholics. "One meets with them at every turn," he said. "But of all the bold intrusion of papal portraiture, holy heraldry and trashy trapings which abound in the Capitol to constantly remind one of the presence of popery, none is so impudently offensive to Americans as that magnificently-wrought statue of Pere Marquette which disg[r]aces statuary hall." The *Patriot* saw even wider manifestations of the scheme. "With a statue of Marquette in Statuary Hall, a papal chapel and two societies of Jesuits in West Point military academy and confessional boxes on our men of war, it is no wonder that the cruiser Texas sank in the dock at Brooklyn and the new dry dock caved in." Apparently these events were the visitations of a wrathful God.[21]

The A.P.A. considered the Roman Catholic Church, and more particularly the Jesuit Order, the very contradiction of everything valuable in the American tradition. Therefore, the statue of Marquette was a hollow mockery of the fundamentals of American institutions, and a burning dishonor to the nation and to the state that donated it. President Traynor thought that not only the Protestants of Wisconsin, "but the more intelligent of the papists" as well, had been cruelly and deliberately misinformed concerning the part the Jesuit missionaries had played in the early history of the United States. If the people only knew, he said, as did the A.P.A.'s, that Marquette had belonged to the "most notoriously despotic society" the world has ever known, "a society which has persistently persecuted and crushed freedom of thought and expression with the hand of blood and iron," they would not allow themselves to be presumed upon. When will the people "realize that it was not due to, but in spite of such men as this intrusive Jesuit" that Wisconsin is a free and enlightened state? That such a state should "recognize as a friend a member of the deadliest ememies [*sic*] of the Republic" was a disgrace to the intelligence and patriotism of the people's representa-

tives.[22] In addition to opposing the statue because of Marquette's affiliation with the Catholic Church, the A.P.A. also adopted the old contention that the statue was illegal on the basis of the law of 1864 which established Statuary Hall. Although A.P.A. spokesmen were aware of the joint resolution superseding this law, they failed to see it as a flaw in their argument or, perhaps, they merely ignored it in the interest of their case.[23]

The fervor of Wisconsin Catholic advocacy of the statue appears remarkable when it is compared with the interest they exhibited, in 1890, in other early Catholic explorations of the continent. As a minority group in a dominantly Protestant and sometimes hostile state, they sought to obtain prestige through the honor done Marquette.[24] Now under A.P.A. attack, the Catholics intensified their defense of the statue. They continued to deny the validity of objections to Marquette on the grounds of citizenship, and rejected the argument that the statue would be an innovation due to its ecclesiastical nature. The *Catholic Citizen* pointed out that Roger Williams, who established the Baptist Church 150 years before the nation's founding, was represented in Statuary Hall in religious dress holding a Bible. There was also a statue of John Winthrop, who had been associated with the Puritan Church in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and statues and paintings of clergymen representing many denominations were to be found throughout the capitol.[25]

[21] *Ibid.*, March 7, 14, April 18, May 16, July 11, October 31, December 5, 1896, February 27, March 13, April 17, 1897.

[22] *Ibid.*, February 8, March 7, 28, April 18, July 11, September 26, November 14, 1896, January 9, February 20, March 6, 20, 1897.

[23] *Catholic Citizen*, February 13, 1897; *Wisconsin Patriot*, October 31, November 7, 1896.

[24] The phenomenon of minority groups erecting status symbols in reaction to their minority position has been widely recognized by psychologists and sociologists. Cf. Gordon W. Allport's discussion of what he calls "symbolic status strivings" by victims of prejudice, in *The Nature of Prejudice* (Boston, 1954), pp. 157-158. Arnold M. Rose makes the same point, though more implicitly than Allport, in *The Negro Morale: Group Identification and Protest* (Minneapolis, 1944), Chapter II, particularly pp. 46-47 and 53-54; also 108 and 143. Professor John Higham calls attention to the importance of "status rivalries" in American nativism in his article "Another Look at Nativism" in the *Catholic Historical Review*, XLIV (July, 1958), 147-158. Cf. also A. and C. Rose, *America Divided* (New York, 1948), Chapter VII; Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York, 1944), pp. 734-735, 1018.

[25] *Catholic Citizen*, February 29, March 21, 1896, February 13, 20, 1897.

Catholics did not hesitate to ask why the A.P.A. did not oppose the statues of Roger Williams and other members of the Protestant clergy. One pointed out that Rhode Island's population was two-thirds Catholic, yet no one there even hesitated to place Williams' statue in the capitol. He could only conclude that the objection to Marquette was one of "nourished prejudice" seriously endangering the "constitutional guarantee of religious liberty."[26]

Catholics frequently recognized that A.P.A. opposition was based on nothing more than fanatic bigotry. This was forcefully stated by Sebastian G. Messmer, Catholic Bishop of Green Bay, who insisted that any effort to keep the statue out of Statuary Hall was but a "small side issue of a deep-laid and widespread persecution against Catholic American citizens . . ." rationalized in terms of protecting American institutions. When a group of men begin a "spiteful war" on religious grounds "in a nation professing among its fundamental principles the fullest civil and religious liberty . . ." it must be defeated by loyal citizens, he argued. Whether or not the statue stood in the capitol was of little consequence to the American people. But it becomes a matter of great importance when "it is made the bone of contention between genuine American loyalty, truth and justice on one side and a foreign-born, false Americanism, nursed by sectarian hatred and political jealousy on the other." The *Catholic Citizen* believed the support given the statue registered "to some extent the weight of the friends of religious equality." Catholics were so insistent that they were friends of religious equality that they offered to be tried on this matter and would accept the verdict of any "fair minded Americans, acting as a jury. . . ."[27]

Catholics rejected nativist arguments as rationalization and saw behind the objections only a blatant anti-Catholicism. They failed, however, to comprehend why the A.P.A. both feared and opposed Catholicism, since Catholics quite naturally would not and could not accept the nativist supposition that America was a Protestant Christian country. They recognized in the bigoted opposition to Marquette a violation of an American tradition of religious equality, and sought, therefore, to use this American tradition to secure for themselves religious acceptance in a hostile community. They were making an

[26] New York *Times*, March 15, 1896.

[27] *Catholic Citizen*, March 14, 1896, February 13, 20, 1897, October 25, 1902; *Wisconsin Patriot*, March 6, 1897.

appeal out of self-interest, in terms that would awaken a response in the minds of Americans who took their ideology of democracy to heart. Marquette had become a symbol of their desire for respect and equality.

When the A.P.A. insisted that the statue was a symbolic violation of separation of Church and State, the Catholics ignored the protest. Had they responded they could only have stated the Church's position, which was that no member of the Church could positively and unconditionally approve of separation as an ideal.[28] In the United States, where the principle of separation is a basic part of the concept of religious freedom, such a statement would have destroyed the effect of the Church's symbolic use of the statue.[29] The threat to democracy posed by the Catholic Church seemed very real to the members of the A.P.A. But their attempt to maintain the freedoms of American democracy by eradicating the threat denied the very principles of freedom and liberty the A.P.A. sought to perpetuate.

A.P.A. opposition did not become apparent until the statue was placed in Statuary Hall. When the statue arrived in Washington in February, 1896, plans for its unveiling had already been formulated. On November 2, 1895, Trentanove reported that his statue would be unveiled on March 1. He had personally invited several people to attend, including Cardinal Gibbons, the French and Italian ambassadors, representatives of the Jesuit Order, and Francesco Satolli,

[28] Cf. the papal encyclical of Leo XIII, *Longinqua Oceani*, which was released in January, 1895, as quoted by Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., *The Great Crisis in American Catholic History, 1895-1900* (Chicago, 1957), pp. 123-124. McAvoy also writes that at the end of the nineteenth century the thinking of Catholic prelates at Rome was still much influenced by Roman law "with its insistence on the union of Church and State . . ." and it was this concept which formed "the basis of most [of their] political thought. . . ." *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12. This book is concerned, in large measure, with the efforts of certain American Catholic leaders to convince the Catholic world of the compatibility of Catholicism and American democracy. In this regard cf. John Tracy Ellis, "Church and State: An American Catholic Tradition," *Harper's Magazine* (November, 1953), 63-67. For some exceptions to the belief among members of the American Catholic clergy that American democratic principles are consonant with the best interests of the Church, cf. Howard K. Beale, "Religious Freedom in American History," *The Historian*, XIV (Autumn, 1951), 67-68n.

[29] Anson Phelps Stokes believes that the inseparability of the principle of separation from the concept of religious freedom is an important American contribution to church-state relations. Stokes, *Church and State*, I, xlvi. Also cf. the discussion by Beale, "Religious Freedom," *Historian*, p. 48.

Apostolic Delegate to the United States. President Cleveland had promised to come if at all possible. Of course, Wisconsin's Governor Upham, the Statue Selection Committee, several of the Wisconsin state officers, Senators Mitchell and Vilas, and the Wisconsin congressmen would all be there. The *Catholic Citizen* reported that John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, and the provincial of the eastern Jesuit province had received special invitations and would undoubtedly attend. In January Trentanove was making arrangements to have a special train run from Milwaukee to Washington and was taking care of other details of the program. Elaborate plans were also being made for ceremonies in the House and Senate.[30]

All these plans were rudely shattered. At first there was only uncertainty about whether the ceremonies could be held as early as the first of March. But as that date approached it became clear that none of the plans would be realized. The reason for this was that those responsible for the ceremonies in Washington were becoming increasingly aware of powerful A.P.A. opposition.[31] Anti-Catholicism had a forceful champion in the House in the person of William S. Linton, representative from Michigan. Linton had a long record of anti-Catholic bias and, though he refused to state whether he actually was an A.P.A. member, he was commonly referred to as the "A.P.A. spokesman in Congress." On February 29, Linton proposed a resolution which stated that the statue was inappropriate due to its ecclesiastical nature and should be returned to the state. Linton's speech was vituperative and the House was shocked. The incident, it was reported, "provoked an unexpected flurry" in the House and "rivaled the Cuban question in the gossip of the floor." Opposition appeared in another quarter. Petitions calling for the statue's removal had already been received from constituents, and lobbyists were beginning to appear.[32]

[30] *Catholic Citizen*, November 2, 1895, January 25, February 1, 1896.

[31] William H. Upham [Madison, Wisconsin] to William F. Vilas, February 26, 1896, Vilas Papers; Gaetano Trentanove [Washington, D. C.] to Benjamin M. Weil, February 21, 1896, [Wisconsin] *Executive Department*, "Correspondence with U. S. and Other Governments 1885-1905," Series No. 1/1/1-7, Box No. 5, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; *Catholic Citizen*, January 25, February 22, 29, 1896; *Evening Wisconsin*, March 2, 1896; New York *Times*, March 1, 1896; New York *Tribune*, February 21, March 1, 4, 1896; *Sentinel*, January 29, February 21, 25, 29, March 1, 1896; Washington (D. C.) *Post*, February 28, 29, March 1, 2, 1896.

[32] *Catholic Citizen*, February 29, 1896; New York *Tribune*, February 29, March 1, 1896; *Sentinel*, February 27, 29, March 1, 1896; Washington *Post*,

Opposition was being voiced in public, too. On February 29, Trentanove unveiled the statue temporarily so that J. W. Losey, acting as agent for the Governor of Wisconsin, could determine whether the statue fulfilled the contract. A crowd gathered almost immediately and comment about the presence of the statue in Statuary Hall was so bitter that Losey decided all formal ceremonies in the hall should be dispensed with lest they "be attended by some unpleasant incident." The following morning he and Trentanove removed the covering permanently in hopes that the "sight of the finished statue might serve to cool the ire of the cabal. . . ." The plan failed, and for nearly a week the demonstrations in Statuary Hall were so violent that a policeman was kept on duty beside the monument.[33]

Linton's aim to squelch any "ecclesiastical ceremonies" in Statuary Hall had been accomplished. He now said that he would not attempt to force his resolution through the House but would vote against any resolution of official acceptance. Since a single objection could prevent consideration of such a measure, Linton still controlled the situation in the House. This commotion in Washington, and the continuing barrage of petitions from the country, delayed action in the Senate until finally on April 29 a resolution expressing appreciation for the statue was passed without incident and sent to the House where it was referred to the Committee on Library and allowed to die.[34]

Linton's threat to block proceedings was, perhaps, the major reason for the failure of the House committee to report the resolution on the floor, but there were other reasons. The Milwaukee *Journal* had reported that the Wisconsin delegation "would be happy indeed" to

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February 29, March 1, 1896; *Wisconsin Patriot,* February 29, 1896; *Congressional Record,* 54th Cong., 1st Sess., III, 2314; Kinzer, *op. cit.,* pp. 147, 282.

[33] J. W. Losey, Washington, D. C., to William H. Upham, February 29, 1896, [Wisconsin] *Executive Department,* "Correspondence with U. S. and Other Governments, 1885-1905," Series No. 1/1/1-7, Box No. 5; *Catholic Citizen,* March 7, 1896; New York *Times,* March 1, 4, 1896; New York *Tribune,* March 1, 4, 8, 1896; *Sentinel,* February 29, March 1, 2, 3, 7, 1896; Washington *Post,* March 1, 2, 3, 4, 1896.

[34] *Catholic Citizen,* April 25, May 2, 16, June 6, 1896; *Evening Wisconsin,* April 29, 1896; New York *Times,* March 4, April 30, 1896; New York *Tribune,* March 4, 1896; *Sentinel,* February 27, March 7, 12, 18, April 5, 21, 22, 30, May 19, June 3, 1896; Washington *Post,* March 3, 1896; *Wisconsin Patriot,* March 14, 28, June 20, 1896; *Congressional Record,* 54th Cong., 1st Sess., V, 4546-52, 4570-71, VI, 5882.

have the matter smothered. These politicians were being pressured by various groups of their constituents and had received more than their share of the petitions that flooded Congress. Fully aware of the political potential of the A.P.A., they hesitated to defy it; but on the other hand, to oppose the resolution would be a "breach of etiquette to the state at large." Moreover, it would be extremely dangerous politically since it was certain to alienate the large Catholic voting population of Wisconsin.[35]

A third reason was the possibility that in view of all the difficulty, Wisconsin might decide to withdraw the statue. On March 2 the Washington *Post* said it had been rumored that the statue's supporters had given up all hope of keeping the statue in Statuary Hall in the face of A.P.A. opposition, and that further plans for congressional action on the matter would be postponed until January, 1897, when the Wisconsin state legislature reconvened. At that time a resolution "withdrawing the Marquette statue" was to be appended to a measure "directing that two statues of prominent citizens of Wisconsin be placed in statuary hall." This report had some currency in the press though the *Catholic Citizen* thought it the "most original, the most unique and at the same time the silliest story" it had heard.[36]

It was not an idle tale. On June 20 the *Wisconsin Patriot* published a letter from a reader suggesting that the "statue of Marquette be recalled and one of Gen. Fairchild . . . be put in its place." Three days later D. Lloyd Jones, Commander of the Wisconsin Department of the Grand Army of the Republic, suggested in a general order to the G.A.R. that a statue of General Lucius Fairchild be placed in Statuary Hall. If the idea met with the approval of the veterans, a petition would be filed with the state legislature. Bills providing that Fairchild be placed in Statuary Hall were introduced on February 2 and were followed the next day by bills authorizing the statue of Governor Jeremiah M. Rusk, another Civil War officer whose name had also been suggested by the *Wisconsin Patriot*. The *Sentinel*, favorably disposed to the Fairchild statue project, noted that bills for statues of both Fairchild and Rusk had been introduced.

[35] *Catholic Citizen*, May 2, 9, 16, 1896; *Evening Wisconsin*, April 30, 1896; Milwaukee *Journal*, cited in *Catholic Citizen*, May 2, 1896.

[36] *Catholic Citizen*, March 7, Dec. 5, 1896, Jan. 2, 1897; Washington *Post*, March 3, 1896.

Since there was only room in Statuary Hall for two statues from each state, consideration of both men would necessarily imply the removal of Marquette. Although the *Sentinel* hinted that religious bias lay behind the move, the adjutant of the G.A.R. post at Madison said there was no intention of arousing a religious disturbance. He insisted that the parties behind the Fairchild and Rusk statues were acting in good faith. The situation was simply that the veterans of the Second Regiment wanted General Fairchild, while those of the Twenty-fifth wanted General Rusk. Since only two statues could be placed in the hall from each state, "it can easily be seen that two pegs cannot be put into one hole, and the alternative . . . presented to the soldiers . . . [was] selecting one or the other of the distinguished generals, a controversy which the soldiers could not afford to get into." The obvious answer to this dilemma was that since the Marquette statue's appropriateness was questioned, it should be recalled.[37]

On February 9, Charles W. Sweeting introduced a memorial in the Wisconsin assembly to recall the statue so that room could be made for Fairchild and Rusk. The threat to have the Marquette statue recalled, expressed almost a year before, had now been partially realized. Both the G.A.R. and the A.P.A. denied there was collusion between them. Yet it seems an unlikely coincidence that the names of both Fairchild and Rusk should be suggested in the columns of the *Patriot* before gaining the public support of the G.A.R. In any case, the action of the G.A.R. dovetailed neatly into the A.P.A.'s aim to effect the removal of Marquette. Indeed, the situation was working out precisely as the A.P.A. had prophesied—the bills to place two statues of prominent citizens of Wisconsin in Statuary Hall and to authorize the removal of Marquette had now been introduced in the state legislature. All that remained was to obtain passage. The *Catholic Citizen* had no doubt that the A.P.A. was the chief con-

[37] *Evening Wisconsin,* February 11, 1897; *Sentinel,* January 26, 27, 1897; *Wisconsin Patriot,* June 20, November 14, 1896, February 6, 1897; "General Orders," *Grand Army of the Republic, Department of Wisconsin,* General Order No. 2, 1896-97, in State Historical Society of Wisconsin Library. Lucius Fairchild (1831-1896) was a Union Army colonel, Governor of Wisconsin for three terms, diplomat for ten years and American Minister to Spain for two years. He became state commander of the G.A.R. and in 1886 was made national commander. Jeremiah M. Rusk (1830-1893) was a state assemblyman, lieutenant-colonel in the Union Army, U. S. congressman for three terms, Governor of Wisconsin for three terms, and the first Secretary of Agriculture. Cf. *Dictionary of American Biography,* VI, 253-254, and XVI, 235-236.

spirator. "The whole scheme," insisted its editor, "has been cunningly conceived." Both Fairchild and Rusk had been Republicans; the present legislature was overwhelmingly so, and "no republican . . . would dare to vote against the Rusk and Fairchild statue resolutions. . . ."[38]

In the Wisconsin assembly, the Chairman of the Committee on Federal Relations announced on February 10 that public hearings on the statue measures which had been referred to his committee would be held soon. The *Evening Wisconsin* predicted the committee would be showered with petitions in opposition to removal. This opposition was already crystallizing. The Marquette College Alumni Association of Milwaukee was sending printed petition forms to every city, town, and village in the state. In addition to the petitions, various societies of the Catholic Church were to be mobilized, and a delegation was to be sent to Madison to appear before the legislative committee. The *Wisconsin Patriot* followed the Catholic efforts to secure petitions against the removal of the statue with jaundiced eye, and triumphantly noted every petition favoring the statue's recall.[39]

Analysis of the 423 petitions[40] received by the Wisconsin legislature early in 1897 indicates that the direct opposition to the Marquette

[38] *Catholic Citizen*, February 13, 1897; [Wisconsin] *Assembly Journal*, 1897, 195-196.

[39] *Catholic Citizen*, February 20, 1897; *Evening Wisconsin*, February 10, 15, 1897; *Sentinel*, February 14, 1897; *Wisconsin Patriot*, March 6, 1897.

[40] The following is a breakdown of the petitions introduced in the Wisconsin Legislature between February 9 and March 31, 1897.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| I. | Opposed to removal of Marquette Statue | | 121 |
| II. | Favoring other statues | | |
| | A. Fairchild Statue only | 228 | |
| | B. Rusk Statue only | 5 | |
| | C. Both Fairchild and Rusk Statues without mention of Marquette | 10 | 243 |
| III. | Favoring recall of Marquette Statue | | |
| | A. Recall of Marquette Statue only | 48 | |
| | B. Recall of Marquette and introduction of Rusk and Fairchild Statues | 10 | 58 |
| IV. | Ambiguous (petitions "regarding Marquette statue") | | 1 |
| | Total Petitions | | 423 |

See [Wisconsin] *Assembly Journal*, 1897, 213-923 *et passim*; [Wisconsin] *Senate Journal*, 1897, 128-653 *et passim*.

statue was not nearly as strong as its support, and that the support for a statue of Fairchild far outweighed interest in the Rusk proposal. Almost all the legislators introduced petitions for a Fairchild statue. Moreover, most of those who introduced petitions opposing the Marquette statue also introduced some in its favor. Thus no significant opposition to Marquette can be said to have existed in the legislature.

Hearings on the Rusk-Fairchild resolutions and the Sweeting memorial to recall the Marquette statue were held in February and March by the Committee on Federal Relations. On March 31 it reported an amended bill authorizing the governor to place statues of Fairchild and Rusk in Statuary Hall when he felt the condition of the state treasury warranted the expenditure. The committee had decided four to one to let Sweeting's memorial die. Sweeting, who now opposed his memorial because he feared it would hurt him politically, was a member of the committee and the only dissenter. He let it be known that he would have a resolution introduced in the assembly to force the committee to report the memorial. It was called out of committee the following day and after some debate was defeated unanimously. Apparently other legislators had begun to feel that the situation was a bit ridiculous and a few days later the Fairchild-Rusk Bill was indefinitely postponed. The *Patriot* noted immediately that the statue of Marquette was "likely to 'ornament' Statuary Hall . . . for two years longer. This has been brought about by persistent 'missionary' work of the Jesuits and their friend[s] . . . and the cowardice of the average small fry politicians, who appear to be in the majority at Madison."[41]

Why was it, the *Wisconsin Patriot* complained, that Republican politicians always catered to the "common enemy" instead of "standing by principles and platform of the party or acting in accordance with the wishes of the voters. . . ." The *Patriot* thought it was "getting very monotonous, this electing republicans on republican platforms as exponents of republican principles and policies, and then . . . [having] them go back on everything right, proper and prudent every time." The Catholics were gleeful, announced the *Patriot's* editor, because they believed the recent events were a victory over the A.P.A., but

[41] *Catholic Citizen,* February 20, March 6, April 3, 10, 1897; *Evening Wisconsin,* April 2, 13, 1897; *Sentinel,* February 17, March 3, 30, April 1, 2, 10, 1897; *Wisconsin Patriot,* April 17, 1897; [Wisconsin] *Assembly Journal,* 1897, 942, 952-53, 968-69, 971-72, 980, 1004, 1044, 1065, 1071.

nothing could be further from the truth. The A.P.A. had not even taken an active part in the battle. It had not participated, but had merely shown sympathy with the movement to recall the Marquette statue. The editor promised, however, "the time has come when the A.P.A. will take a hand . . . and it will never cease until that statue . . . has been removed. . . ." Here, indeed, was a clever way for the A.P.A. to rationalize its failure.[42] The *Catholic Citizen* would have none of it. "The A.P.A.'s were thrown down at every chance in this winter's Wisconsin Legislature . . ." it announced exuberantly.[43]

The A.P.A. had set out to move statues. In 1896 it had no doubt that Marquette would be denied admittance to Statuary Hall, and a year later it was confident of its ability to have the statue recalled to the state. The *Wisconsin Patriot* was never cautious but always bombastically positive of A.P.A. strength. Yet the order had failed in 1896, and in 1897 it made no real fight for the Rusk and Fairchild bills or for the memorial introduced by Sweeting. In the testimony taken by the assembly committee there was no discussion of religious issues or constitutional principles. Fifty-eight petitions requesting the recall of the statue were a poor testimony to A.P.A. power.

As events unfolded, the A.P.A. was unable to make good its boast to remove Marquette. Just prior to the elections of 1894 the A.P.A. attained its maximum strength. Decline set in almost immediately. Several factors contributed to its loss of strength. Like many other powerful movements in American history the A.P.A. was exploited for its political capital and then abandoned by ambitious politicians. The issue of supporting a presidential candidate in 1896 led to crippling dissension within the order. With the prosperity that came late in that year, much of the social frustration that had contributed to this wave of anti-Catholic bigotry disappeared. Anti-Catholicism itself was losing its dynamic quality. By the end of the nineteenth century the main current of American nativist prejudice had shifted to an emphasis on racism. The A.P.A.'s failure to adopt the new fashion caused it to lose both power and respectability. Shortly after the turn of the century the A.P.A. faded into history as a force in American life. As it declined, so too did the newspapers that expressed its bias. The *Wisconsin Patriot* ceased publication in June, 1898.[44] During the

[42] *Wisconsin Patriot,* April 17, 24, 1897. The A.P.A. frequently used the term "common enemy" in reference to Catholics.

[43] *Catholic Citizen,* May 8, 1897.

[44] Higham, *op. cit.,* pp. 85-87; Kinzer, *op. cit.,* pp. 360-469 *et passim.*

last year of the *Patriot's* life, the statue was never mentioned. Indeed, the matter seems to have been completely forgotten by the press. Even the *Catholic Citizen* was silent on the issue for nearly three years, though it twice mentioned Marquette's name in connection with other events.[45]

But in spite of the opportunity offered by the demise of the A.P.A., and the fact that the statue was no longer an object of controversy, it did not receive official recognition by the House of Representatives until 1904. The A.P.A. was not soon forgotten and for four years after the turn of the century politicians were hesitant to chance raising the specter of anti-Catholicism. Only when a lobbyist employed by the Marquette University Alumni Association threatened to force the issue by circulating petitions among the Catholics of Wisconsin could the Wisconsin representatives be induced to urge the passage of a resolution making federal acceptance of the statue official.[46] On January 30, 1904, such a measure was passed unanimously by the House. Two days later the measure cleared the Senate and the effort undertaken in 1887 finally came to fruition.[47]

The Catholics had won their struggle. The statue of Marquette had been fully accepted by the federal government, and the state had received expressions of appreciation. But it was far more than a victory for the Catholic Church; it was a victory for the principle of religious equality and respect. It also signaled a defeat for that portion of A.P.A. ideology that attempted to safeguard democratic freedoms

[45] *Catholic Citizen,* July 2, 1898, March 4, September 30, 1899.

[46] In every year from 1900 to 1903 an unsuccessful effort was made to secure the passage of the long-sought resolutions. Cf. *Catholic Citizen,* March 31, 1900, February 9, 1901, October 25, November 8, 1902, February 7, 1903; *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 56th Cong., 2nd Sess., 180, 57th Cong., 1st Sess., 36.

Information on the activity of the Marquette University Alumni Association and its lobbyist, Alphonsus Bodden, can be found in Henry S. Spaulding, "The History of the Marquette Statue, Presented to Statuary Hall, In the Capitol, By the State of Wisconsin," in United States Catholic Historical Society, *Historical Record and Studies,* III (1904), 428-438. Cf. also *Catholic Citizen,* January 16, 1904; *Evening Wisconsin,* January 29-30, 1904; *Sentinel,* January 29, 30, 31, 1904; *Congressional Record,* 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1356; *House Reports,* 58th Cong., 1st & 2nd Sess., II, Document 642; *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 221, 237, 267, 273, 436.

[47] *Congressional Record,* 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1446; *Journal of the House of Representatives,* 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 224, 229; *Journal of the Senate,* 58th Cong., 2nd Sess., 130-131.

by denying those freedoms. People who profess to believe in democracy must have the courage to live by it. Benjamin Franklin made this point in 1775 when he wrote: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety."[48]

*Cambridge, Massachusetts*

[48] George Bancroft, *The American Revolution* (Boston, 1867), I, 242.

# MISCELLANY

## THE NEWMAN ARCHIVES AND THE PROJECTED EDITION OF THE CARDINAL'S LETTERS

By

C. Stephen Dessain*

Like so many of his contemporaries in the nineteenth century, Cardinal Newman carefully collected any of his letters and papers that seemed to have importance. Some he hoarded from his earliest days, and they followed him to Trinity College, Oxford, and then to Oriel. They were greatly increased during the period of the Oxford Movement, the various sides of which they abundantly illustrate. They accompanied him to Littlemore, Maryvale, Alcester Street, and Edgbaston, where they found their final resting place, in the room Newman occupied for the remaining thirty-nine years of his life. Here he sorted them, annotated, and, of course, vastly increased them. They consist of journals, notebooks, diaries, memoranda, account books, documents of all kinds, and correspondence which provide material to illustrate not only Newman's own development, but that of almost the whole of the century in which he lived.

Newman kept these papers for various reasons. They were most useful guides to future action. His life formed a unity, based on the same fundamental principles, and these papers showed his progress, and helped him to charter his course. They were, too, many of them, important as *pièces justificatives*, and they proved of inestimable value at the time of the writing of the *Apologia*. Later Newman realized their importance for his biography, and he added to them by writing various autobiographical papers, to help those who would later tell his history. This became all the more important after the death of Father Ambrose St. John in 1875. Newman realized that there was no one now who could write his life with the same intimate knowledge, and that it was all the more necessary to leave behind ample material, not for publication, but as a guide to his biographer.

It will give some idea of the riches of the Newman Archives, if, leaving on one side the letters and correspondence, a brief summary is given of the rest of their contents. This includes:

(1) The Books—Some of these are in Newman's room and some in the community library. A number of them have annotations by Newman in

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them. Some come from his father's library, some are his own school books, some are Oxford textbooks, and then, of course, there are the many volumes of the fathers, in the editions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

(2) Autobiographical Papers—Among these are the private diaries, covering almost all the years from 1824 to 1876, also the early journals, retreat notes from Littlemore, Maryvale, and Rome, the autobiographical memoir and other papers, many of them to be found in *Autobiographical Writings,* edited by Henry Tristram (London, 1956).

(3) Papers dealing with episodes at Oxford and chiefly, of course, about the Oxford Movement.

(4) Papers concerning the Catholic University of Ireland, most of them arranged by Newman himself.

(5) The Philosophical Papers, which have often been consulted, many of them drafts of the *Grammar of Assent.* They are of great interest, but they do not necessarily represent Newman's final opinion, and he did not wish them to be published. Of one set of them he wrote, "I have not any idea of putting it into shape for publication. I have not confidence enough in what I have advanced to warrant publication."

(6) Theological Papers. These include those on faith and development of doctrine written at Rome in 1847, on faith and certainty, on infallibility (in the years before the Vatican Council), etc., etc. One extremely valuable paper on development was published in the *Journal of Theological Studies* [IX (October, 1958), 324-335], and in *Gregorianum* [XXXIX (July, 1958), 585-596].

(7) Various papers about the idea of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, and the Oratorian vocation, and a series of chapter addresses which show Newman's views on the religious life.

(8) Papers about education, about Catholics going to the University of Oxford, the editorship of the *Rambler,* etc.

(9) Manuscripts of published works, chiefly of the later ones, corrected proofs, etc.

(10) Sermons. Of the Anglican sermons about 230 have been published, and there remain unpublished about 170. Many of these are on themes very similar to those of published sermons, and on one bundle, early sermons preached at St. Clement's, Oxford, Newman wrote: "None of these are worth anything in themselves, but will show how far I was an Evangelical when I went into anglican orders." Of the Catholic sermons, two volumes were published by Newman, and a third containing the remaining autograph sermons, *Catholic Sermons,* was published in 1957 by Burns Oates & Washbourne. (Spanish translation, *Sermones Catolicos,*

[Clasicos de Espiritualidad, Ediciones Rialp], Madrid, 1959.) There are besides about 140 Catholic sermons which were taken down by one of the audience while Newman was preaching. Some of these he later read through and approved. There exist a few unpublished sermon notes in addition to those in the volume *Sermon Notes of John Henry Cardinal Newman, 1849-1878,* edited by Fathers of the Birmingham Oratory (London, 1913). It should be noted that all these manuscripts have been carefully preserved and catalogued ever since Newman died.

(11) Letters and Correspondence. Newman, it has already been explained, began the collecting of them. As early as August, 1828, he speaks of pasting into books his family letters. Besides the letters he received, he kept drafts of a number of the more important of his own letters. About 1860 he put the letters of his Oxford period into order, destroying those which seemed no longer of importance. His friends lent him many of his letters when he had to write the *Apologia.* Some of these he printed there, and others he copied out before returning them to their owners. In 1870 he was arranging his Irish correspondence, and sometimes letters were given back to him, to keep or to copy, when friends died.

Cardinal Newman died on August 11, 1890, and at once the number of letters in the Birmingham archives increased enormously. William Neville, who had taken the place of Ambrose St. John as literary executor, appealed for letters or the loan of them. They came pouring in, the piles rose round his desk, and some 5,000 in all were copied. Father Neville was assisted and then succeeded in his task by Fathers Richard and Lewis Bellasis (sons of one of Newman's great friends), who lived many years in the cardinal's community as chosen disciples. Gradually the letters were reduced to order. Besides the 5,000 copied letters, the correspondence of individuals was sorted into some 150 files of "Personal Collections." A further eighty files were filled with "Various Collections," under such headings as "Movement towards Rome," "Achilli Trial," "Answers to Enquirers," "Vatican Council," and many more. The correspondence between Oratorians accounted for sixty files of "Oratory Letters." There were sixty-five boxes of "Miscellaneous Letters," arranged chronologically, and various other categories. All these have thus long been available for students. Lewis Bellasis died in February, 1938, and his brother a year later. After a short interval they were succeeded by Father Henry Tristram, who received and put in order a few more important collections of letters.

It seems that there must be in all about 20,000 letters extant that were written by Cardinal Newman, and quite a large proportion of the letters written to him, as well. Newman's correspondence is of great interest and

importance, not only for the student of literature and for the historian, but also for educationalists, psychologists, philosophers, theologians, controversialists, and not least those concerned with the religious and spiritual life. They are also of great interest for the general reader, for experience has shown that even people with little knowledge of Newman or his background find his letters fascinating.

Up until now only a fraction of the letters has been published. For the period before Newman became a Catholic, there are the two volumes of Anne Mozley, *Letters and Correspondence of John Henry Newman* (London, 1891), and the volume edited at the Birmingham Oratory, *Correspondence of John Henry Newman with John Keble and Others, 1839-1845* (London, 1917). For the Catholic period there are the letters included in Wilfrid Ward's two-volume *Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman* (London, 1912), where, of course, many of them are not printed complete. A few more letters have appeared in later books about Newman, but a full edition of his letters has long been felt as an urgent need.

Father Tristram began preparing for such an edition after World War II, proposing to bring the letters out by correspondence. Failing health prevented him from carrying the work very far, but his beginnings have not been wasted. After his death in 1955 the present writer took on the work. It was soon found that the only convenient method was to print the letters chronologically. It was also decided that the letters were too important for omissions to be made, or for an editor to risk giving a false picture thereby. On the other hand, they were so numerous that it was quite impossible to include the letters written to Newman. A complete edition, then, is in preparation, which aims at including every letter that Newman wrote, and which will make continual use of the letters written to him, in order to annotate and explain Newman's own letters.

With this end in view, many additions have recently been made to the already vast collection of Newman letters in the archives at the Birmingham Oratory. Whole collections have been added, either in the form of autographs or copies; photostats have been obtained of the hundreds of letters at Oxford, the British Museum, in the United States, and elsewhere. Biographies and printed sources have been researched, and an almost complete collection is now available, thanks to the generosity of the owners of autographs.

Since there are, as has been said, already three large volumes containing a selection of the letters Newman wrote as an Anglican, it has been decided to publish first the letters that were written after he joined the Catholic Church in October, 1845. A much smaller proportion of these has seen the light. Several volumes of letters written after Newman's conversion are now arranged and annotated, and some fifteen or more will be

necessary for this period alone. The publishing house of Thomas Nelson and Sons of Edinburgh have agreed to undertake the work, and it is hoped that the first volume, from October, 1845, to December, 1846, will appear in 1961.

*The Oratory*
*Birmingham*

# THE FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, CHICAGO, DECEMBER 28-30, 1959

The fortieth annual meeting of the Association which was held at the Conrad Hilton Hotel in Chicago was the largest in many years. The registration of 216 was twenty-eight above the 188 who registered at Washington the previous year, and the 162 in attendance at the luncheon on Tuesday, December 29, was the largest number on record for that regular feature of the annual meeting. The business meeting on Monday, December 28, with President Harry W. Kirwin in the chair, drew between fifty and sixty members who heard the reports of the officers and committee chairmen, the text of which will be found in this issue of the REVIEW. A request was made of the Executive Council by the Luigi Sturzo Foundation that the Association take note of the death of Don Sturzo and the outstanding contribution which he made to thought and scholarship. With the approval of the council, the following memorandum and resolution were first read by President Kirwin and then declared unanimously adopted by those present:

The death on August 8, 1959, of Don Luigi Sturzo brought to an end one of the remarkable careers of the twentieth century. It is the belief of the Luigi Sturzo Foundation, located at Fordham University, of which Professor Robert C. Pollock is president and the Reverend Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., is secretary, that the greatness of Don Sturzo in his thought, writings, and work have made him so paramount a figure in the making and the writing of history in this century that his passing should be formally noted in the necrology of the American Catholic Historical Association. To this end, on behalf of the Foundation, the present memorandum is submitted, as well as in the further hope that all members of the Association interested or informed may contribute to the gathering of letters or documents for the purposes of the Foundation, as well as be moved themselves to write on the importance of Don Sturzo in the processes, the composition, and the interpretation of history. Therefore, with the gracious consent of the Executive Council of the Association, the substance of this memorial is embodied and presented in the following resolution, with the humble request that, if accepted, its content be incorporated in the records of the Association.

Now, therefore, be it resolved that the American Catholic Historical Association salute with reverence the passing of Don Luigi Sturzo and record its enduring regard for his achievements and stature, while exhort-

ing its members, in accord with their interests and opportunities, to be active in any gathering of materials dealing with his work and consider his writings and actions as fitting themes for their own consideration.

Respectfully submitted,

THE LUIGI STURZO FOUNDATION

At the close of the business meeting, John B. McGloin, S.J., of the University of San Francisco gave a brief but lively and informative summary of his archival experiences during a recent leave of absence which he entitled, "European Resources for American Catholic History."

For the first time in the history of the Association a joint session was held on Tuesday morning, December 29, with the American Society of Church History on the general topic, "Aspects of the Council of Florence." Heiko A. Oberman of the Harvard Divinity School served as chairman for the audience which overflowed the Lower Tower to the number of nearly 300. The two papers were by Martin Anton Schmidt of the San Francisco Theological Seminary who spoke on "The Problem of Papal Primacy at the Council of Florence," and James J. Zatko of the University of Notre Dame who entitled his paper, "The Political Aspects of the Union of Florence in Muscovite Territories." Oscar Halecki of Fordham University led the discussion on the Schmidt paper and Ray C. Petry of Duke University performed a similar service for the Zatko paper. The highly favorable reactions to this meeting suggested to a number of those present the desirability of continuing these joint sessions in the future.

Following the session on the Council of Florence the Association's members and guests convened in the Beverly Room where the guest of honor was Albert Cardinal Meyer, Archbishop of Chicago, who had returned less than ten days before from Rome where he had received the insignia of his new rank as a member of the College of Cardinals. The chairman, Paul Horgan, First Vice President of the Association, first introduced His Eminence who said grace, and after the guests had completed their luncheon he next introduced Harry J. Sievers, S.J., of Bellarmine College, Plattsburgh, New York, chairman of the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize for 1959. Father Sievers first announced that the committee had awarded honorable mention to two of the books entered in this year's competition, viz., Oscar Halecki's *From Florence to Brest, 1439-1596* (Fordham University Press) and Brian Tierney's *Medieval Poor Law* (University of California Press). The winning volume for

1959 was that of Robert A. Graham, S.J., of the editorial staff of *America* which is entitled *Vatican Diplomacy* and is published by the Princeton University Press. Father Graham was present in person to receive the $200.00 award from the hands of Cardinal Meyer. The presidential address on James J. Walsh, which was published in the January issue of the REVIEW, was then delivered by Harry W. Kirwin of Loyola College, Baltimore. The luncheon conference closed with a few words from the Cardinal Archbishop of Chicago in which he warmly welcomed all to his see city and expressed his appreciation for the work that the Catholic historians were doing through the medium of the Association of which he has been himself a member for the past decade.

The final item on the program for the fortieth annual gathering was the customary joint session with the American Historical Association on Wednesday morning, December 30, on the subject, "Status in Elizabethan Society." A large crowd of about 250 gathered in the Williford Room, Parlor C, where Philip Hughes of the University of Notre Dame served as chairman with Eric McDermott, S.J., of Georgetown University as the discussion leader. The two papers were given by William R. Trimble of Loyola University, Chicago, on "The Status of the Catholic Gentry," and Wallace T. MacCaffrey of Haverford College on "The Status of the Urban Merchant."

The forty-first annual meeting of the Association will be held at the Hotel Statler in New York on December 28-30 in conjunction with the meeting of the American Historical Association and the other groups that meet simultaneously each year. The reports of the officers and committees for 1959 follow.

## REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS:

President: Paul Horgan, Roswell, New Mexico

First Vice-President: Robert F. Byrnes, Indiana University

Second Vice-President: Annabelle M. Melville, Bridgewater State Teachers College

Treasurer: John K. Cartwright, St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington

Secretary: John Tracy Ellis, The Catholic University of America

Assistant Secretary: Robert F. Trisco, The Catholic University of America

Executive Council (for a three-year term):

Colman J. Barry, O.S.B., St. John's University, Collegeville
Robert E. McNally, S.J., Woodstock College

Committee on Nominations:

Raymond J. Maras, University of Dayton, *chairman*
Francis X. Curran, S.J., Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak
Edward J. McNulty, Rider College

Committee on Program:

Arpad F. Kovacs, St. John's University, New York, *chairman*
Edward J. Dunne, S.J., St. Peter's College
Jeremiah F. O'Sullivan, Fordham University

Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize (for a three-year term):

Madeleine Hooke Rice, Hunter College

COMMITTEE ON NOMINATIONS, 1959:

JAMES A. O'CONNELL,
St. John's University, New York, *chairman*

SISTER RITA MARY MCBRIDE, O.P.,
Albertus Magnus College

AMBROSE ZENNER, O.S.B.,
Mount Angel Abbey

## REPORT OF THE TREASURER:

Financial statement from December 15, 1958, to December 15, 1959

### ACCOUNT I—GENERAL FUND

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Investments—December 15, 1958 | | $8,101.69 |
| Cash on hand—December 15, 1958 | $10,031.43 | |
| *Receipts:* | | |
| Annual dues | $9,313.50 | |
| Life membership | 140.00 | |
| Capital gains | 68.64 | |
| Interest and dividends | 645.51 | |
| Contributions to annual meeting expenses | 728.80 | |
| Exchange on foreign checks | .87 | |
| Receipts for year | 10,897.32 | |
| Total receipts | $20,928.75 | $8,101.69 |

*Disbursements:*

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Office expenses: | | | |
| Rent of office and telephone service | $ 74.00 | | |
| Supplies and sundry | 399.48 | | |
| Secretary's salary | 1,706.01 | 2,179.49 | |
| Annual meeting expenses—1958 | | 663.45 | |
| John Gilmary Shea Prize | | 200.00 | |
| *Catholic Historical Review* | | 5,234.40 | |
| National Trust for Historic Preservation | | 25.00 | |
| Investments | | 90.88 | 90.88 |
| Total disbursements | | 8,393.22 | |
| Balance on hand, December 15, 1959 | | $12,535.53 | |
| Investments, December 15, 1959 | | | $8,192.57 |

ACCOUNT II—REVOLVING ACCOUNT

Publication of Documents

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cash on hand, December 15, 1958 | | $2,381.94 |
| *Receipts:* | | |
| Stock, *United States Ministers to the Papal States* | $12.50 | |
| Stock, *Consular Relations between the United States and the Papal States* | 13.75 | |
| Total receipts | | 26.25 |
| Total | | $2,408.19 |

*Disbursements:*

None

| | |
|---|---|
| Balance on hand, December 15, 1959 | $2,408.19 |

* * * * *

SUMMARY

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Investments—Account I | | $8,192.57 |
| Cash on hand: | | |
| Account I | $12,535.53 | |
| Account II | 2,408.19 | |
| | $14,943.72 | |

## INCOME FROM INVESTMENTS

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Interest:* | | |
| Morris and Essex | $ 70.00 | |
| New York Central and Hudson River Railroad | 70.00 | $140.00 |
| *Dividends:* | | |
| Bank of America | $190.00 | |
| Montana Power | 110.00 | |
| Public Service Company of New Hampshire | 70.00 | |
| Washington Mutual Investors Fund | 32.80 | |
| Perpetual Building Association | 102.71 | 505.51 |
| | | $645.51 |
| *Capital Gains:* | | |
| Washington Mutual Investors Fund | 68.64 | 68.64 |
| | | $714.15 |

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT, *Treasurer*

## REPORT OF THE SECRETARY:

Fifteen years ago this week the Association celebrated here at the Conrad Hilton its silver jubilee, and now we keep our fortieth anniversary in the same city. Chicago's Conrad Hilton has been the scene of a good number of our annual gatherings during the past generation, among them that of eighteen years ago when I made my first report as secretary here on December 30, 1941. The membership stood at 745 on that occasion, and now that we have reached our fortieth birthday it is good to know that, although we have not doubled our numbers in the interval, we have shown a steady growth. And from the point of view of new members, the year just closing is the best—with one exception—since I assumed office. In 1953 we had 174 new members which was fourteen ahead of the number for the current year. I do not wish to place undue stress on mere numbers, but the more people who are reached the more effective will be the work of the Association for the cause of Catholic historical scholarship, which is the prime reason for our existence. The story of our losses and gains over the past twelve months is contained in the following figures:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Membership, December 15, 1958 | | 1,075 |
| Deaths | 13 | |
| Delinquents | 54 | |
| Resignations | 10 | 77 |
| | | 998 |
| New members | 160 | |
| Renewals | 10 | 170 |
| Membership, December 15, 1959 | | 1,168 |

This total of 1,168 is a gain of ninety-three over last year's final tabulation and gives us the largest membership in our history. The names and addresses of the 160 new members are as follows:

Adelman, Mr. Maurice, Jr., 32-B Gahl Terrace, Reading, Cincinnati 15, Ohio.
Amato, Mr. Nicholas J., St. Bonaventure University, St. Bonaventure, New York.
Austin, Sister M. Teresita, R.S.M., Mercy College, Detroit 19, Michigan.
Baker, Dr. Janet Bassett, Marywood College, Scranton 9, Pennsylvania.
Bayerl, Sister Mary Inez, O.S.F., Saint Clare College, Williamsville, New York.
Beckman, Mr. David, Box 310, Jasper, Indiana.
Beitzell, Mr. E. W., 5940 14th St., N.W., Washington 11, D. C.
Biesinger, Mr. Joseph A., 1219 South 6th Street, Louisville, Kentucky.
Bonnell, Reverend Robert A., 4120 Euclid Avenue, Cleveland 3, Ohio.
Bonnin, Mr. Georges C., Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.
Boran, Mother Francis de Sales, R.S.H.N., Marymount College, 10643 Sunset Boulevard, Los Angeles 24, California.
Bradley, Reverend Robert I., S.J., 529 West 121st Street, New York 27, New York.
Brown, Mr. Clement D., 40 Earl Drive, N. Merrick, Long Island, New York.
Brown, Right Reverend Philip J., 3107 63rd Avenue, Cheverly, Maryland.
Cannon, Sister M. Amata, H.H.M., 20770 Hilliard Road, Rocky River 16, Ohio.
Casello, Mr. Joseph H., 25 Wolcott Street, Hartford, Connecticut.
Catholic History Society of Wisconsin (Mr. John Chapple, secretary pro tem), Box 14, Ashland, Wisconsin.
Cirieco, Mr. Joseph V., 3309 Baychester Avenue, New York 69, New York.
Clarke, Mr. Robert James, Aquinas College, 1607 Robinson Road, S.E., Grand Rapids, Michigan.
Cocco, Mr. Americo P., 126 Isabella Avenue, Newark 2, New Jersey.
Coyne, Sister Saint Claire, Mount Saint Mary's College, 12001 Chalon Road, Los Angeles 49, California.
Cowan, Sister Claudia, I.H.M., 323 E. 198th St., New York 58, New York.
Craig, General Louis A., 3700 Fordham Road, N. W., Washington, D. C.
Covas, Reverend Peter, C.S.Sp., 602 W. Ajo Way, Tucson, Arizona.
Crimmins, Mr. W. A., Portsmouth Priory School, Portsmouth, Rhode Island.
Criscenti, Dr. Joseph T., Boston College, Chestnut Hill 67, Massachusetts.
Dawson, Mr. Christopher, 56 Francis Avenue, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

de Balla, Dr. Borisz, 42-28 159th Street, Flushing, New York.
Dill, Dr. Marshall, Jr., 906 Sir Francis Drake Blvd., Kentfield, California.
Dosh, Reverend Leonard, O.S.B., St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota.
Ducey, Miss Cathryn Annette, 56 Woodbine Street, Hamden 17, Connecticut.
Dwan, Mr. Ralph, North American College, Città del Vaticano.
Edwards, Mr. Owen Dudley, 313 E. 30th St., Baltimore 18, Maryland.
Egan, Mr. Edward A., 7626 S. Colfax Avenue, Chicago 49, Illinois.
Ellis, Mr. Joseph A., 1155 Third Avenue, New York 21, New York.
Ellis, Mr. L. T., Sacred Heart Dominican College, 2401 Holcombe Blvd., Houston 21, Texas.
Feely, Reverend Thomas, C.M., 1300 S. Steele Street, Denver 10, Colorado.
Feeney, Reverend James A., 650 Grand Concourse, New York 51, New York.
Foley, Reverend Richard L., 872 Farmington Ave., West Hartford, Connecticut.
Foote, Mr. Raymond F., 77 Sylvian Way, Los Altos, California.
Ford, Sister M. Vera, C.S.J., Cardinal Spellman High School, 738 Court Street, Brockton, Massachusetts.
Gallaher, Mr. John G., Saint Louis University, Saint Louis 3, Missouri.
Girard, Sister Mary Virginia, S.C., 233 E. High Street, Springfield, Ohio.
Glavin, Sister M. Jacqueline, C.S.J., College of St. Joseph, Framingham, Massachusetts.
Gleiman, Mr. Lubomir, 31 Chase Street, Newton 59, Massachusetts.
Graham, Reverend Robert A., S.J., 329 West 108th Street, New York 25, New York.
Gregoire, Reverend Paul L., S.S., St. Joseph's College, Mountain View, California.
Hales, Mr. Edward E. Y., Corner House, Fair Green, Sawbridgeworth, England.
Halliday, Sister Mary Doreen, O.P., Molloy Catholic College for Women, 1000 Hempstead Avenue, Rockville Centre, New York.
Harrington, Sister Virginia Marie, Mount Saint Joseph Academy, 617 Cambridge Street, Brighton 35, Massachusetts.
Harrison, Sister M. Jerome, O.S.B., Sacred Heart College, Cullman, Alabama.
Hammill, Sister M. Martina, Our Lady of Mercy Academy, 3333 Fifth Avenue, Pittsburgh 13, Pennsylvania.
Harriot, Mr. Samuel C., 200 West 58th Street, New York 19, New York.
Hayden, Mr. J. Michael, 6551 Sheridan Road, Chicago 26, Illinois.
Healy, Reverend Jerome J., O.S.B., 904 14th Street, Boulder, Colorado.
Healy, Reverend John J., 659 Grand Concourse, New York 51, New York.
Hénault, Mr. Robert J., Route 2, Emmitsburg, Maryland.
Henderson, Mr. John, Clemens Hall, Saint Louis University, Saint Louis 8, Missouri.
Hennesey, Reverend James J., S.J., 1225 Otis Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Hennessy, Dr. Arthur L., Jr., 1337 Ebeling Drive, South Bend, Indiana.
Henry, Mr. Charles, Q.C., 85 Richmond Street, W., Toronto, 1, Canada.
Hickey, Sister Zoe, Seton High School, 2800 N. Charles Street, Baltimore 18, Maryland.
Holley, Reverend Mr. John, St. Vincent Seminary, Latrobe, Pennsylvania.
Hopkins, Mr. J. G. E., 597 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, New York.
Horne, Miss Muriel, 278 Clinton Avenue, Brooklyn 5, New York.
Hunckler, Mr. Eugene J., 2031 Garland Avenue, Louisville 10, Kentucky.
Idzerda, Dr. Stanley J., Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan.

Joseph, Sister Marie, O.P., St. Mary Convent, Carson City, Michigan.
Joyce, Reverend Thomas P., C.M.F., Claretianum, via Aurelia 619, Roma, Italia.
Jurgens, Reverend Dr. William A., 1227 Ansel Road, Cleveland 8, Ohio.
Kealey, Mr. Edward J., 5639 186th Street, Flushing 65, New York.
Kelly, Mother Dorothy Ann, O.S.U., College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle, New York.
Kelly, Reverend Thomas M., 2455 N. Hamlin Avenue, Chicago 47, Illinois.
Kelly, Reverend William, O.SS.T., Sacred Heart College, Pikesville 8, Maryland.
Knerr, Dr. George F., 109-36 124th Street, South Ozone Park 20, New York.
Kraft, Mr. Herbert C., 19 Jacques Street, Elizabeth 4, New Jersey.
Kremer, Reverend John R., 1202 Kelly Street, Charles City, Iowa.
Kruse, Miss Margaret M., 6 Ash Street, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.
Lamb, Dr. Woodrow L., 19131 Edinborough Road, Detroit 19, Michigan.
Langenhorst, Right Reverend Ernest G., 5617 Locke Avenue, Fort Worth 17, Texas.
Langley, Reverend Wendell E., S.J., Creighton University, Omaha 31, Nebraska.
Lannie, Mr. Vincent P., 147-18 20th Road, Whitestone, New York.
Layne, Mr. Robert P., 7807 Dixie Highway, Pleasure Ridge Park, Kentucky.
Lee, Reverend John A., 1932 Dayton Avenue, Saint Paul 4, Minnesota.
Liguori, Sister M., Holy Family College, Philadelphia 14, Pennsylvania.
Logan, Reverend F. Donald, St. Michael's College, Toronto 5, Canada.
Loomie, Reverend Albert J., S.J., Fordham University, New York 58, New York.
Lukacs, Dr. George Perenyi, 744 Myrtle Avenue, Albany, New York.
Mabrey, Reverend Paul J., O.M.I., 2000 McCullough Avenue, San Antonio 12, Texas.
MacLeod, Mr. John M., 4 Mann Court, New Albany, Indiana.
Maguire, Most Reverend John J., 455 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.
Martin, Sister M. Aquinata, O.P., Siena College, 4405 Poplar Boulevard, Memphis 17, Tennessee.
McKenna, Mr. Richard, 70 La Salle Street, New York 27, New York.
McMahon, Reverend James B., 856 Pacific Street, Brooklyn 38, New York.
McNamara, Mr. Donald, 721 Fenwick Club, 435 Commercial Square, Cincinnati 2, Ohio.
Meagher, Reverend Walter J., S.J., Boston College, Chestnut Hill 67, Massachusetts.
Miller, Mr. Samuel J. T., 76 Peterborough Street, Boston 15, Massachusetts.
Mitzel, Reverend John F., S.J., 429 East Third Street, Bloomington, Indiana.
Moran, Reverend William J., Chaplain-Colonel, 109 Skyview Terrace, N., Falls Church, Virginia.
Moynihan, Reverend Eugene, S.S.J., Epiphany Apostolic College, Newburgh, New York.
Mulich, Mr. Patrick A., 2937 North 82nd Terrace, Bethel, Kansas.
Mulloy, Mr. John J., 440 East Mount Airy Avenue, Philadelphia 19, Pennsylvania.
Mulrooney, Most Reverend Charles R., 312 St. James Place, Brooklyn 38, New York.
Murphy, Miss Virginia Agnes, Trinity College, Washington 17, D. C.
Murray, Brother Jeremiah, C.M.F., Claretknoll, Rural Route 1, Peru, Illinois.
Nagle, Mr. Robert, American College, Louvain, Belgium.

Nelson, Sister Mary Edwarda, 29 Melvin Avenue, Catonsville 28, Maryland.

O'Beirne, Mr. Aedan, 2234 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D. C.

O'Brien, Reverend Paul, S.C.J., Kilroe Seminary of the Sacred Heart, R.D. 1, Honesdale, Pennsylvania.

O'Grady, Mr. Joseph P., 623 Edmonds Avenue, Drexel Hill, Pennsylvania.

O'Keefe, Reverend Cyril B., S.J., St. Mary's University, Halifax, Canada.

Otis, Sister Mary Philomena, S.C.L., St. Mary's High School, St. Mary's, Kansas.

Pell, Mr. Robert, 31 Gramercy Park South, New York 3, New York (L.M.).

Phelps, Miss Jane L., 150 S. Franklin Street, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania.

Powell, Mr. John E., Colorado Building, Washington 5, D. C.

Prpic, Mr. George J., University Heights, Cleveland 18, Ohio.

Quinn, Very Rev. William J., 720 North Rush Street, Chicago 14, Illinois.

Rambusch, Mr. Viggo, 22 Stratford Road, Scarsdale, New York.

Richardson, Mr. James F., 217 Haven Avenue, New York 33, New York.

Riehle, Sister Mary Edith, Maryknoll Teachers College, Maryknoll, New York.

Roherty, Professor James M., Mount Mary College, Milwaukee 10, Wisconsin.

Rosso, Right Reverend George A., 306 Madison Building, Arlington Towers, Arlington 11, Virginia.

Roth, Reverend Robert, O.S.B., Holy Cross Abbey, Canon City, Colorado.

Ryan, Very Reverend William Granger, Seton Hill College, Greensburg, Pennsylvania.

Saint Thomas Seminary, Kenmore, Washington.

Saladino, Mr. Salvatore, 158 Highland Boulevard, Brooklyn 7, New York.

Scallen, Miss Patricia, c/o Harrington, 2608 Briggs Avenue, New York 58, New York.

Schaefer, Reverend James R., St. Joseph's Church, Texas, Maryland.

Schauer, Mr. Robert V., 108 West Maple Avenue, Morrisville, Pennsylvania.

Scherbring, Sister Mary Tarcisia, O.S.F., Saint Mary's School, Alton, Iowa.

Sharpe, William, M.D., Pennsylvania Hospital, 8th and Spruce Streets, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Shea, Mother Mary Berchmans, O.S.U., College of New Rochelle, New Rochelle, New York.

Sheeran, Reverend Fintan D., SS.CC., Queen of Peace Seminary, Jaffrey Center, New Hampshire.

Shenton, Mr. James P., Box 12, 808 Hamilton Hall, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

Sippel, Mr. Cornelius, III, 524 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois.

Sisters of Saint Francis, 1115 N. Townsend Street, Syracuse 8, New York.

Smelser, Professor Marshall, Box 116, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Smith, Dr. Harrison, Georgetown University, Washington 7, D. C.

Smith, Mr. Joseph G., 5225 Pembroke Place, Pittsburgh 32, Pennsylvania.

Sohan, Mr. James, 3111 Sora Avenue, Louisville 13, Kentucky.

Spalek, Sister M. Floriana, O.S.B., St. Scholastica Convent, Covington, Louisiana.

Stafford, Rev. Joseph E., O.S.F.S., De Sales House, 3301 Solly Avenue, Philadelphia 36, Pennsylvania.

Steele, Miss Anne V., 200 Dale Drive, Silver Spring, Maryland.

Stultz, Mr. Frank A., Catholic Country Day School, Louisville, Kentucky.

Sullivan, Mr. James F., Chestnut Hill College, Philadelphia 18, Pennsylvania.
Sullivan, Sister Maria Regina, C.S.J., St. Angela Hall Academy, Brooklyn, New York.
Szalay, Reverend Eugene W., Rapid City, South Dakota.
Thomas, Sister M. Ursula M., O.S.B., Benedictine Heights College, 2120 East 21st Street, Tulsa 14, Oklahoma.
Thormann, Mr. Gerard C., 130 Prescott Avenue, Staten Island 6, New York.
Throckmorton, Mr. Robert, Utica Pike, Jeffersonville, Indiana.
Tirador, Miss Melecia T., 1331 Newton Street, N.E., Washington 17, D. C.
Tonini, Mr. Frank, 333 Husson Street, Staten Island 6, New York.
Treacy, Reverend Gerald C., S.J., Loyola House of Retreat, Mount Saint Katherine, Morristown, New Jersey.
Walsh, Mr. Thomas M., 1766 Dolores Street, San Francisco 10, California.
Welch, Sister Eileen, C.S.J., College of St. Rose, Albany 3, New York.
Weyer, Sister M. Anita, I.H.M., Immaculate Heart College, 2021 North Western Avenue, Los Angeles 27, California.
Whelan, Miss Carol, 91-06 Elmhurst Avenue, Jackson Heights 72, New York.
Windbiel, Mr. Robert K., 120 West 70th Street, New York 23, New York.
Wolfe, Reverend Michael, O.M.I., Hjortespringvej 2, Herlev, Copenhagen, Denmark.
Yzermans, Reverend Vincent A., 3101 8th Street, North, St. Cloud, Minnesota.

The names of our honored dead of 1959, for whom I would ask a remembrance in your prayers, are:

The Most Reverend Matthew F. Brady
The Reverend Vincent P. Brennan
The Right Reverend Francis A. Burke
Sister Mary Noella Byrnes, O.P.
Professor Bernard F. Donovan
The Right Reverend Joseph M. Egan
The Right Reverend Richard J. Haberlin
The Very Reverend Lalor McLaughlin
The Most Reverend William T. Mulloy
The Very Reverend Thomas Plassmann, O.F.M.
Mr. John Sullivan
The Right Reverend Vincent Taylor, O.S.B.
The Most Reverend Joseph C. Willging

May their souls rest in peace!

Each year I attempt to put before this business meeting some new aspect of the Association's life and activities. This year I thought you might find it of some interest to have a breakdown of the membership according to lines of occupation. I cannot guarantee the absolute exactness of all the following figures for the reason that in a few cases we frankly do not know whether the lay person is in academic life or not; or if the member is a priest, if he is in education or in some other work of the ministry. But we can say that the classification gives a substantially accurate picture

of the distribution of the various religious and lay groups who constitute the membership. The figures are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Cardinals | 5 | |
| Archbishops | 18 | |
| Bishops | 79 | |
| | | 102 |
| Priests: | | |
| Diocesan priests in education | 103 | |
| Diocesan priests in parishes and other works of the ministry | 100 | |
| | | 203 |
| Priests of religious communities: | | |
| Assumptionists | 1 | |
| Augustinians | 3 | |
| Basilians | 3 | |
| Benedictines | 22 | |
| Blessed Sacrament Fathers | 1 | |
| Calced Carmelites | 4 | |
| Capuchins | 4 | |
| Cistercians | 1 | |
| Claretians | 2 | |
| Conventual Franciscans | 7 | |
| Divine Word Fathers | 1 | |
| Dominicans | 7 | |
| Friars Minor (Franciscans) | 12 | |
| Holy Cross Fathers | 7 | |
| Holy Ghost Fathers | 2 | |
| Holy Trinity Fathers | 1 | |
| Jesuits | 75 | |
| Josephites | 3 | |
| La Salette Fathers | 2 | |
| Marianists | 1 | |
| Marists | 2 | |
| Maryknoll Fathers | 3 | |
| Missionaries of the Sacred Heart | 1 | |
| Oblates of Mary Immaculate | 8 | |
| Oblates of St. Francis de Sales | 1 | |
| Pallottine Fathers | 1 | |
| Passionists | 4 | |
| Paulists | 3 | |
| Precious Blood Fathers | 4 | |
| Premonstratensians | 4 | |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Priests of the Sacred Heart | 1 | |
| Redemptorists | 4 | |
| Resurrectionists | 1 | |
| Sacred Hearts Fathers | 1 | |
| Salesians | 1 | |
| Servants of the Paraclete | 1 | |
| Servites | 1 | |
| Society of African Missions | 1 | |
| Society of St. Edmund | 1 | |
| Stigmatine Fathers | 1 | |
| Sulpicians | 11 | |
| Viatorians | 2 | |
| Vincentians | 7 | |
| | | 221 |
| Brothers: | | |
| College and university teachers | 13 | |
| High school teachers | 4 | |
| | | 17 |
| Sisters: | | |
| College and university teachers | 171 | |
| High school teachers | 35 | |
| | | 206 |
| Laymen: | | |
| College and university teachers | 160 | |
| Editors and research workers | 13 | |
| Government research workers and members of the armed forces | 14 | |
| High school teachers | 7 | |
| Professional and business men | 100 | |
| | | 294 |
| Laywomen: | | |
| College and university teachers | 29 | |
| High school teachers | 1 | |
| Miscellaneous | 27 | |
| | | 57 |
| Institutions | | 68 |
| | | 1,168 |

Among the interesting facts that emerge from this classification is that the Association has enrolled at the present time just a little under one-half of the American hierarchy. Almost fifty per cent of the over-all membership is drawn from college and university teachers of history, which is what one would expect in an organization of this kind. Proportionately speaking, the number of laymen—especially those in the professions and business—is, perhaps, higher than might have been anticipated. And while the total of forty-seven for those affiliated with high schools is not a high one, given the character of our quarterly journal and the nature of most of the papers read at our annual meetings, it is possible that these teachers may feel that our activities are not closely enough related to the problems of the history teacher at the secondary school level to warrant membership.

Let me say a few words about the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, our official organ. During the course of the year we received a total of twenty-eight manuscripts which was six less than those sent to us during 1958. Of these eighteen were rejected, two were returned for further revision, three are awaiting publication, one was referred to a more suitable periodical, and four have already been published. The high rate of rejections—eighteen out of twenty-eight—does not imply that all these manuscripts were of an inferior quality. A number of them definitely were, but several others were rejected because their subject matter was not sufficiently *ad rem* to the history of the Church. In still another case, the article was of greater relevance for the history of canon law and for that reason the editors recommended it to the *Jurist*, the organ of the Canon Law Society of America, whose editorial board accepted it for publication in that journal. The REVIEW has had a good year from the point of view of subscriptions with a present total of 639 subscribers—apart from members of the Association—which represents a gain of sixty-five over last year. Thus with our present 117 exchanges it means that our journal is now reaching 1,924 persons and institutions, and with a continuance of our recent progress through 1960 we should be able without much trouble to pass the 2,000 mark by a year from this time.

You will be interested, I think, in a few more items of business that took place during the past year. First in importance is the appointment of an assistant secretary in the person of Robert F. Trisco, a priest of the Archdiocese of Chicago. This appointment was approved in advance a year ago this time by the Executive Council at the meeting in Washington, and in September Father Trisco arrived at the University to assume his duties as instructor in church history, archivist of the University, associate editor of the REVIEW, and assistant secretary of the Association. He comes to us fresh from four years of graduate study in church history at the Gregorian University in Rome, and he brings to his task a splendid

command of languages, excellent professional training, and firsthand experience of a good number of European centers of research and scholarship in ecclesiastical history. His presence here this afternoon gives me a welcome opportunity to introduce him in person to the members and to bespeak for him a long and fruitful tenure in the various duties that have now fallen to his lot.

Some index of the members' interest in the affairs of the Association can, I believe, be found in the 266 ballots that were returned from the voting for officers and committee personnel for the new year. The ballots received over the past six weeks represent almost one-fourth of the membership which is a higher return than many learned societies receive from a poll of this kind. It was an especially lively year, too, for the Committee on the John Gilmary Shea Prize. A year ago this time the members of that committee suggested that the executive office circulate the leading publishers with a printed statement concerning the prize and the qualifications for entering a book in the competition. This was done, and as a result of this action—which, incidentally, we of the executive office should have had the imagination to take on our own initiative long ago—there came in the largest number of books for the competition of any year since the prize was instituted at our silver jubilee meeting here in Chicago in 1944. It has given this year's committee a much wider range from which to make their choice, and the quality of the entries was such that it compelled a very close scrutiny on the part of Harry J. Sievers, S.J., the chairman, and his two able committeemen, Raymond H. Schmandt, Jr., and Thomas P. Neill. The announcement of the two books that won honorable mention, as well as that of the prize-winning volume, will be made tomorrow at the annual luncheon. [Through a "leak" from an unidentified source announcement of the winner of the prize appeared in the *Register* of Denver and other Catholic papers on the weekend of December 26-27.] Before I leave this topic I should like to thank these three gentlemen for the painstaking and conscientious manner in which they carried out what proved to be the most time-consuming assignment of any committee that has served on the Shea Prize competition during the last fifteen years.

May I mention two more matters of Association business for 1959? First, a word concerning the report of our treasurer, Monsignor Cartwright, which you have just heard. Our finances are in splendid condition; in fact, the treasurer is now casting his eye about for promising avenues for further investment of some of our current cash balance. Secondly, I should like to call attention to tomorrow morning's session which will be the first time that our Association has joined with the American Society of Church History in sponsoring a discussion of an historical problem. When President Handy approached me over a year

ago about the possibility of such a joint session I told him I would be delighted to pass on the word to this year's program committee; and when I did the committee was quick to take up the suggestion and make it a reality. I like to think that it is further evidence of an improved spirit pervading the world of scholarship today, a happy and overdue recognition of the links that bind serious scholars in religious history regardless of their particular doctrinal beliefs. At a time when co-operation of this kind has taken on increasing importance in the affairs of men of the Christian and free world of the West we are all happy, I am sure, that our own Association should make whatever contribution that lies within its power to a deeper understanding between men of all religious faiths. The better we come to know each other the less chance will there be for a repetition of the sterile and painful recriminations that have too often stained the history of Christianity during the past four centuries.

In conclusion it only remains for me to express a word of thanks to certain individuals who have especially earned the Association's gratitude during 1959. I think first of Dr. Schmandt, who not only served on the Shea Prize committee, but who had to bear simultaneously the even greater burden of chairman of the Committee on Program. Yet in spite of that burden he carried out every detail of the onerous task with intelligence and despatch, ably seconded by Lawrence J. McCaffrey of the University of Illinois and Vincent P. De Santis of the University of Notre Dame. To these gentlemen, and to everyone who in any way has furthered our common interests during the past twelve months, I wish to express in your name and in my own our sincere gratitude. Please God, when we assemble in New York a year from now we shall have an equally encouraging story to tell concerning the activities of 1960. In the meantime may it be for each and every one of you, and for those who are near and dear to you, a new year filled with the best of gifts from above.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN TRACY ELLIS, *Secretary*

# BOOK REVIEWS

## GENERAL CHURCH

*Saggi storici intorno al papato dei Professori della Facoltà di Storia Ecclesiastica.* [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae. Volume XXI.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1959. Pp. xx, 480.)

This latest volume of the Miscellanea is offered to Pope John XXIII. Planned in 1957, it commemorates the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Faculty of Ecclesiastical History of the Pontificia Università Gregoriana. In the preface the dean, Vincenzo Monachino, sketches the establishing of the faculty, describes its organization and methods, and indicates its publications. Ludwig Hertling, in "Namen und Herkunft der römischen Bischöfe der ersten Jahrhunderte" (pp. 1-16), investigates the "nationality" of the nineteen popes from Linus to Fabian. The twelve with Greek names were not necessarily Greeks but most probably freedmen, for these names are shown by numerous inscriptions to have been typical slave names, arbitrarily imposed by the master. At least two bearing Latin names are known to have been freedmen. Since slaves and freedmen usually remained in their place of origin, most of the early popes were probably residents or even natives of Rome or its environs. Hence there is no reason to regard the Christian community at Rome as a Greek colony. In "Il Primato nella controversia Ariana" (pp. 17-89), Vincenzo Monachino, having first sketched the profound effects of the Arian controversy on all aspects of ecclesiastical life, seeks to ascertain whether it favored or hindered the exercise and recognition of the Roman primacy. Though Pope Silvester I had no role in the summoning of the Council of Nicaea, the primacy obtained implicit recognition in the place of honor accorded his representatives. Constantine I and Constantius II kept the Roman see in the background, but it was the Eusebians who in 338 made the first move in bringing it back to view. The activity of Julius I and Liberius prove their understanding of the primacy, and from 361 imperial aloofness allowed the papacy to resume its traditional role. Damasus I was very active in the final liquidation of Arianism, always insisting on the prerogatives of his see. In general it can be said that, whenever the state abstained from interfering in ecclesiastical affairs, these took their normal course and were referred to Rome for solution; hence, the controversy favored the natural development of the Roman primacy.

None of the *saggi* is concerned with the four centuries following the second ecumenical council. Paul Rabikauskas, in "Zur fehlenden und

unvollständigen Skriptumzeile in den Papstprivilegien des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts" (pp. 91-116), investigates two problems of papal diplomatics—the close connection of the "scriptum" line with the curial hand and the frequency of incomplete "scriptum" lines. The "scriptum" appears in Roman privileges from shortly before 800 until the middle of the eleventh century; the curial hand was used during the same period, whenever the writer of the charter is named. The explanation of the connection lies in the as yet undeveloped organization of the papal court, where the services of the Roman *scriniarii* were used; there was no real papal chancery until the eleventh century. In numerous charters the "scriptum" line was entered but the name is absent. The reason lies in the circumstance that the writer was at the moment unable to complete the document; he omitted his name until he could make the necessary additions, but sometimes these were not made. Such a charter was attested by the *bulla* and delivered to the recipient without the completion of the "scriptum," because it was considered necessary to name the one who had actually written it. Friedrich Kempf, in "Die päpstliche Gewalt in der mittelalterlichen Welt" (pp. 117-169), takes issue with Walter Ullmann's thesis presented in *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages,* that only one political idea, hierocratic monism, guided the mediaeval papacy, without any variation, from the fifth to the fourteenth century. After a detailed statement of the thesis, Kempf proceeds with his criticism, period by period, showing the presence in each epoch of a dual line of thought, of an interplay of dual and monistic ideas. Unfortunately, Ullmann stops *ca.* 1150, just when there begins a century in which both popes and canonists expressly taught a dualistic theory. Only with Innocent IV did hierocratic monism prevail. The reviewer regards this study as the best in the volume; it should be translated into English and published separately.

Only one study is devoted to the age of the High Renaissance. Miguel Batllori, in "Bernardino López de Carvajal, Legado de Alejandro VI en Anagni, 1494" (pp. 171-188), studies the activity of Cardinal Carvajal as legate in Anagni at the moment of Charles VIII's attack on Naples. His chief tasks were to keep Ascanio Sforza loyal to the pope and hence separated from the pro-French policy of his brother, Ludovico il Moro; to win and retain the loyalty of Jacopo Conti and the other nobles of lower Latium; and to guarantee the safety of Anagni and its vicinity. The legate's more important letters to the pope are given in full. The next two *saggi* are only loosely connected with the papacy. The appropriateness of "Contrarreforma" to designate the Catholic restoration of the sixteenth century is studied by Ricardo G. Villoslada in "La Contrarreforma. Su nombre y su concepto histórico" (pp. 189-242). The English and German equivalents are avoided by Pastor and other Catholic historians, since they

seem to imply that the Protestant movement was a genuine reform and that the Catholic recovery was merely an anti-Protestant reaction. The author dismisses the criticisms as of no real validity and favors the term since to him it implies a reply in the opposite sense, an authentic reform rather than a mere opposition. A brief sketch of the mediaeval roots and of the positive elements in the *Contrarreforma* shows that it was not just an anti-Protestant movement. Josef Wicki, in "Rodolfo Pio da Carpi, erster und einziger Kardinalprotektor der Gesellschaft Jesu" (pp. 243-267), discusses the activity of the only cardinal protector of the Jesuits. Carpi (1500-1564) took a very serious view of his position and strove to fulfill his function in the best interests of the society. Since he was also the protector of the Friars Minor, the quarrels of the two institutes placed him in a delicate situation. The Jesuits had a high regard for him, but he had no successor; for the sake of its independence the Society of Jesus preferred to regard the pope and the entire College of Cardinals as its protectors.

In "Die Jesuiten als Gehilfen der päpstlichen Nuntien und Legaten in Deutschland zur Zeit der Gegenreformation" (pp. 269-303), Burkhart Schneider explains the valuable assistance rendered by the Society of Jesus in the Catholic restoration in Germany. From 1540 to 1550 individual Jesuits aided the nuncios and legates, who quickly understood their worth; during the succeeding decade the society itself acquired a more permanent position and definite work in Germany; and from 1560 Jesuits were the most active agents of the recovery. In return, the Holy See and its representatives promoted the society's interests and growth, while its members contributed to the development of the nunciatures. This co-operation was not always to the Jesuits' benefit; it interfered with internal discipline and raised up enemies. But it was immensely profitable to the Church. The fourth study devoted to the early modern period is of quite a different character from all the rest, and, as is to be expected, it is one of the best in the volume. This is Joseph Grisar's "Die Reform der 'Reservatio Casuum" unter Papst Clemens VIII" (pp. 305-385). After a brief history of episcopal reservation of sins, the author shows that some bishops carried it to excess, thereby giving rise to much dissatisfaction. Trent's call for moderation was not generally observed, and so Clement VIII undertook to regulate the problem. In 1602-1603 the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars sent out a questionnaire on reserved cases to the Italian bishops, and then issued new directives. The replies of about 100 bishops are extant; these indicate the manner in which the prelates sought to comply and give the reasons why certain sins were reserved. While it is stated that some of these sins were rarely committed in particular dioceses, the occurrence of certain others in numerous diocesan lists seems to point to frequency of commission.

The last two *saggi* deal with the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The late Pedro de Leturia left a manuscript which is published here as "Pio VIII y la independencia de Hispanoamérica" (pp. 387-400). He had earlier discussed the papacy's relations with Latin America under Pius VII, Leo XII, and Gregory XVI. Pius VIII, whose activity is the subject of this study, favored legitimacy and the appointment of vicars apostolic in the former Spanish territories. In the Rio de la Plata district his policy was a success, but in Mexico it foundered, because the revolutionary government demanded the establishment of residential bishops. The pope's efforts to persuade Madrid to agree to this were very badly received. Paul Droulers, in "La Nonciature de Paris et les troubles sociaux-politiques sous la Monarchie de Juillet" (pp. 401-463), investigates the reaction of the Paris nunciature to the social problem under the July Monarchy. Many of the French bishops had a clear grasp of the sociological significance of the agitation, but the papal representatives—Lambruschini, Garibaldi, and Fornari—were blind to it. Regarding themselves as essentially diplomats, they saw only the danger of a political upheaval which posed a threat to the security and even the existence of the Papal States. While Lambruschini pined for the fallen Bourbon, Garibaldi and Fornari were concerned to establish cordiality with the Orleanist. The horror of democracy, Lamennais, and Lacordaire, displayed by the nuncios, and their failure to understand the workers' misery make unpleasant reading.

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*L'Apostolo San Pietro, nella chiesa primitiva, dalle origine al Concilio di Caledonia.* By A. Rimoldi. [Analecta Gregoriana, Volume XCVI.] (Roma: Apud Aedes Universitatis Gregorianae. 1958. Pp. xix, 356. L3,000.)

In setting out to give an all but taxative account of the Petrine tradition from the origins of the Church until the Council of Chalcedon (451), Rimoldi conceived an ambitious project whose ramifications are almost limitless. What he has succeeded in providing is a collection of all the available documentary evidence for the presence and development of the cult and veneration of St. Peter in the first four centuries of the Church's existence. In the course of his argument the author naturally introduces the evidence for the papal primacy and relative doctrines of the Church. But because of the discursive nature of his general development, he has failed to produce either a great or a wholly convincing book. Rather, the reader feels he is being treated to a sort of *enchiridion* or collection of documents, archaeological and liturgical artifacts, popular traditions, and

legal formulas that indicate the reverence and cult paid to St. Peter during these centuries. The further attempt that the author makes to utilize this evidence as conclusive proof for the Petrine doctrinal claims goes beyond the author's aim as announced in the book's title and in the preface. It likewise gives the reader the impression of such constant, repetitious insistence upon a preconceived doctrinal theme as to be both tiring and tendentious.

For the use made of the Petrine text "Thou art a rock . . ." during these centuries, Rimoldi makes good use of the dissertation published by Altaner for his student J. Ludwig (deceased) entitled *Die Primatsworte Mt. 16, 18-19 in dem Altkirchlichen Exegese* (Münster, 1952) which is a well balanced and thorough account of the gradual development of the implications of this statement in both the oriental and occidental halves of the Church until St. John Damascene (d. 749) and Pope St. Gregory I (d. 604). Had Rimoldi imitated the singleness of purpose and the economy of this work, he would have produced a much more useful and convincing book. As it is, he begins with a brief, competent, if uncritical account of the excavations under St. Peter's, and of both the feasts and centers in Rome dedicated to the cult of the Prince of the Apostles in the sub-apostolic age. His coverage of the evidence and the literature concerning the many and so far unsolved problems here encountered is good. But he brings forth no truly new solutions; nor does he take account of the extensive precisions of A. Chavasse in a number of recent articles culminating in his book, *Le Sacramentaire gélasien* (Paris, 1958).

In discussing the place that St. Peter occupied in the thought and papal activity of Pope St. Leo I (440-461), Rimoldi stresses the personal, almost mystical presence of the Prince of the Apostles in the apostolic see as described by the pope in his sermons. But he fails to resolve the question concerning the sense in which St. Leo felt himself heir to Peter's power (cf. p. 197). He misses the significance of Leo's administrative consciousness as expressed in the famous phrase *cuius vice fungimur*. Hence the author seems unaware of the development of a strictly legal conception of papal power paralleling concepts from the imperial administration that begins as a reaction to the claim of Constantinople to be the "new Rome." This jurisdictional consciousness was manifested by Pope Damasus and the Synod of Rome in 382. In the minds of the successors to Damasus—Popes Siricius, Innocent I, and Boniface I—the Roman Church possessed a double claim to apostolicity, having been founded by both St. Peter and St. Paul. It was then the unique source *(exordium)* of the Christian religion whence was to flow downward the whole of Christian life, including matters both spiritual and jurisdictional. In 422 Pope Boniface I put forth the claim as a recognized fact: "Ideo tenet sedes apostolica principatum ut querelas omnium licenter acceptet." St. Leo

completes this development by demonstrating that there was a difference between the papal and the episcopal power. Though equal in the "potestas ordinis," the bishops did not share the supreme "postestas regendi," for it was Peter and his successors alone "quem totius ecclesiae principem [Christus] fecit" (*Sermo* 4:4), cf. H. Klinkenberg, "Papsttum und Reichskirche," in *Zeitschrift der Savigny Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Kanonistische Abteilung*, XXXVIII (1952), 37 ff. As a corollary to this doctrine, Leo claimed, *vis-à-vis* the imperial power, that the apostolic see possessed the *principatus* which term "is the political expression of the jurisdictional primacy of the Roman Church within the Christian *corpus*, the 'mundus'" [Walter Ullmann, *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), p. 9]. That this is a true interpretation of Leo's thought is clearly indicated by the imperial reaction to the papal claims.

Whereas this whole legal development—here sketched in briefest outline—may seem to lie somewhat outside Rimoldi's sphere of reference, its importance is crucial to the argument regarding the primacy as he himself deals with it in its development "dai papi Siricio, Innocenzo I, et Bonifacio I" (p. 197). Similar shortcomings in the full use of archaeological, liturgical, and epigraphical evidence might be cited. They are due to the overambitious efforts of the author in going far beyond his announced intentions. The book is useful, however, rather as a *summa* of source materials than as a solid piece of reasoned research.

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*Die römische Kuriale in der päpstlichen Kanzlei.* By Paul Rabikauskas, S.J. [Miscellanea Historiae Pontificiae edita a Facultate Historiae Ecclesiasticae in Pontificia Universitate Gregoriana, Volume XX, Collectionis n. 59.] (Roma: Pontificia Università Gregoriana. 1958. Pp. xxiv, 255. $4.25.)

Not the "sweet Roman hand" that Malvolio associated with Olivia, that is to say, not the fifteenth-century "chancery hand" that is, happily, being taught again in some of our schools (cf. *Time*, December 3, 1951; *Jubilee*, April, 1959; *Horizon*, September, 1959), the script dealt with in this book would, indeed, not commend itself to present-day imitation, though in its own time it enjoyed a long life of some 500 years. This *scriptura curialis Romana* dates from, apparently, somewhere in the seventh century and was practiced in the papal chancery down into the reign of Callixtus II (1119-1124). It then yielded before the Caroline minuscule, which for more than a century had been appearing, with increasing insistence, in the produc-

tions of the Church's central secretariat. The script that won out came to Rome from beyond the Alps; the loser was local in origin—"Rome's unique medieval contribution to handwriting" [E. A. Lowe, in G. C. Crump and E. F. Jacob, *The Legacy of the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1926), p. 220].

In Father Rabikauskas' book the *curialis Romana* (viz. as employed in the papal chancery) receives its first comprehensive treatment, a study that will be as welcome to historians of the Church as to the more specialized students of palaeography and diplomatic for whom it is primarily intended. An opening chapter dealing with the name, nature, and origin of the script is followed by three that trace in detail the three periods of its history. Two concluding chapters present the purely palaeographical matter (study of the individual letter forms one by one, the abbreviations, etc.). One of the three appendices lists chronologically the *ca.* 175 surviving originals of papal documents written in the *curialis Romana* (the oldest of these, a letter of Hadrian I, is reproduced in Cabrol-Leclercq, *DACL*, art. "Chancellerie"). In this list the references to published facsimiles might profitably be added to: e.g., under JE 2606 it would be well to include Steffens, *Lat. Pal.* 2 Taf. 58; under JE 3052, Thompson, *Introduction* Fig. 216; under JL 3888, Battelli, *Acta Pontificum* Tab. 2.

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*The Age of Martyrs.* By Giuseppe Ricciotti. Translated by Anthony Bull, C.R.L. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1959. Pp. viii, 305. $4.95.)

The content of this work is adequately stated in its sub-title, "Christianity from Diocletian to Constantine." In preparing this volume, Abbot Ricciotti intended to present not "a critical study but a critical narration of the facts" that constitute the history of the Church in this important phase of her development. "This book is intended for historians and generally educated people." In no sense does it qualify as an original, scientific contribution to the fields of church history and patrology.

Abbot Ricciotti's work as a whole is open to the general criticism that the author's judgment too frequently lacks precision, neglects the nuance, tends to be hasty. The treatment of Arianism and the Council of Nicaea is an example of his failure to control the sources. It is simply not true that the success of Arianism was built on the masses, that it was a theology of the guitar, that it was essentially supported by café theologians. All these factors did, indeed, play a role in the development of the history of the heretical movement, but in no wise was this role decisive in forming the heresy itself. More than being an exegete, Arius was a logician, who proceeded from his own pet *a priori* principle that God cannot beget God.

For him this was the decisive principle in interpreting the Scriptures. His heretical teaching was an expression of his attempt to preserve the divine monarchy at the expense of obliterating the Trinity.

The statement that Paul of Samosata believed that the *Logos* was the same person as the Father needs refining. The problem of his Trinitarian theology is a difficult one; and Bardy in his great work, *Paul de Samosate,* has shown the intricacies involved here because of the deficiency of source material. It is not altogether accurate to say that the greatest preoccupation of the West had been to safeguard the perfect divinity of the *Logos.* In this early period in the history of dogma the West was essentially preoccupied with the defense of the divine Monad and stood in constant dread of doctrines which led logically to tritheism. This is the central point of the letter of Dionysius of Rome to his namesake of Alexandria. It can be further said that this celebrated letter did not turn so much on the use of the term *homoousios,* which actually does not occur in it, as on the supposed polytheism and Sabellianism of certain Alexandrians. The Synod of Antioch in 324-325 cannot be dismissed with the statement that "there is no evidence for it," for the present tendency among historians is more and more to accept its existence. It is not certain that Hosius of Cordova presided at the Council of Nicaea, nor is there solid evidence for supposing that there was a special closed meeting of the fathers, prior to the council, in which Arius was interrogated and Athanasius was "the most effective member." Nor is there any conclusive proof that "in the official discussion Arius was heard more than once."

The translation of the work is not wholly commendable, and the style is at times marred by lack of clarity (p. 10, par. 7) and by poor choice of words, e.g., "foolish students" (p. 70), "foolish people" (p. 70), "foolish sentiments" (p. 41), "foolish incident" (p. 256), "foolish children" (p. 256), "the foolishness of theological investigation" (p. 256). Sentences such as: "At Alexandria the Arians had made a great noise . . . the orthodox Catholics . . . began to make a noise too" (p. 279) are naïve. Sometimes technical phrases are either poorly translated, e.g., "inferior clergy" (p. 248) for "lower clergy," "scribes" (p. 65) for "writers," etc., or not translated at all, e.g., *multitudo* (p. 9), *sicarii* (p. 11), *ex sacerdotum sententia* (p. 258), etc. At times the use of pedestrian expressions detracts from the dignity of the narrative, e.g., "none of them (i.e., the Lucianists or Philo-Arians) had very strong vertebrae anyway" (p. 266), or "In theological argument, however, the Emperor was careful to keep his mouth shut" (p. 262). It would have been generally helpful, if the titles of the various Greek works cited had been translated not into Latin but into English; and, if a list of the sources, translated into English, had been presented. I note further that the proofreader has not always been careful in correcting Greek accents and orthography (e.g., p. 249) and

that the writing of proper names is not perfectly controlled, e.g., Ischyras (p. 257) and Ischares (pp. 274, 276, 278), Tillemont and Tillemonet (p. 296), etc.

Since this work is intended "for historians and generally educated people," the author should have taken the pains to present a selected bibliography which would have been useful to them in their own further study and reading. The author's explanation of his omission of a bibliography, that it would "be of interest only to a few specialists," (p. 296) is unreasonable. Both the translator and the publisher should have seen this. Of the three works which are mentioned as a source for further bibliography, the *Cambridge Ancient History* (XII) is twenty-one years old, the *Cambridge Mediaeval History* (I) is nearly fifty years old, and P. F. de Cavalieri's *Constantiniana* is in Italian. Two older works which are listed, Tillemont's *Histoire des empereurs* (1690-1738) and his *Mémoires* (1693-1712) are centuries old and not readily accessible. The listing of the last item, E. Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* (1776-1788), is inexcusable.

ROBERT E. MCNALLY

*Woodstock College*

*The Wandering Saints of the Early Middle Ages.* By Eleanor Duckett. (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. 319. $5.00.)

In a graceful foreword concerning her wayfaring saints Miss Duckett expresses the desire to join the company of writers who pursue a middle way between the works of scholars in hagiology and the simple narratives, legends, tales of miracle and wonder in the lives of the mediaeval saints, venturing to paint the saints "in something of the colour which ages past have given them, hoping in this way to make more clear a picture of the spirit of these men and women who really lived and are now so widely unknown." Because Miss Duckett's book will be a welcome addition to the reading list of the college survey course in history, it may be helpful to describe briefly the contents. The first half is devoted to the wayfaring Celtic saints, those ardent adventurers willing for the love of Christ to live as strangers in exile, seeking solitude, knowledge, and an opportunity to win souls for God. These saints include Patrick, Columba, Columban, Ninian, Kenneth, Kentigern, Oswald, Aidan, Cuthbert, Gall, and other saints of Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany.

The change from the Celtic to the Frankish pattern, from dedicated wandering to dedicated missions in the service of Church and king is reflected in the lives of SS. Ouen, Fursey, and Amand. Among the English who went abroad were Willibrord, Boniface, Lull, and Leoba, whose work was carried on in close contact with Rome and included the monastic life

according to the Benedictine rule. From the labors in the Netherlands of SS. Gregory of Utrecht, Liudger, and Lebuin the scene shifts to Denmark and Sweden, to the missionary activities of St. Anskar, the "Apostle to the North," whose devotion to the faith, travels, and sorrows are related with warmth and sympathy. In the final chapter Miss Duckett turns to a different type of wayfarer, the pilgrim who journeys to Rome or to the Holy Land. The description of routes, departure ceremonies, dangers and trials of the journey, and personal accounts of their experiences by pilgrims, will appeal to the student. The author's style is lively, her narrative sparkling with charming anecdotes and character sketches. May I suggest that in her next study Miss Duckett not use the word "ordering" for the reception of the sacrament of holy orders, e.g., "On his return he received his ordering" (p. 146); "he received ordering as a priest" (p. 235). References to sources in the text (there are no footnotes) reflect extensive knowledge of recent research. The historical background is illuminated by genealogical tables of the Merovingian and Carolingian houses and by five maps, which also illustrate the wanderings. Indices of names and maps complete the volume.

The many admirers of Miss Duckett's *Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars*, *St. Dunstan of Canterbury*, and *Alfred the Great and His England* will find equal pleasure in her account of the wayfaring saints.

ANNA T. SHEEDY

*College of New Rochelle*

*The Church in the Dark Ages.* By H. Daniel-Rops. Translated by Audrey Butler. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. xi, 624. $10.00.)

Readers of Daniel-Rops' *Cathedral and Crusade* will surely welcome his latest work which is the second volume in a projected eight-volume series under the title *Histoire de l'église du Christ* (all but one of the volumes is completed). The scope of the book under review covers that period of western European development from St. Augustine to the middle eleventh century. In majestic strokes the author traces the history of the Catholic Church during a period of painful growth, expansion, and adjustment. The original title of the work, *The Church of Barbarian Times*, better elucidates the whole problem—for during this time western Europe was being resettled after the collapse of the empire in the West and the setting up of Germanic states throughout the western part of the empire. The migrating Teutonic tribes played an important role in the resettling of Europe and gave the whole period its peculiar tone and color. About half of the book is devoted to the barbarians and their impact on the social, intellectual, cultural, political, and religious life of western Europe, and especially their relation to the Catholic Church.

From the viewpoint of style and language the book is brilliantly executed. The author is always clear, readable, and at times even exciting. His canvas is large and besides brilliant vignettes of SS. Augustine, Leo, Gregory, and Benedict, his pen portraits of Justinian, Theodora, and Charlemagne leave little to be desired. Mr. Daniel-Rops is undoubtedly well read in the early mediaeval period and his narrative covering the period roughly from St. Augustine to Pope Gregory I is extremely well executed. The same cannot be said for that section of his work covering the tenth and eleventh centuries where there is not much evidence of deep acquaintance with the original source materials of the period.

Then there is the question of interpretation. Some of his views leave the reader in a state of wonderment, e.g., in discussing the conversion of Clovis we read: ". . . In a human soul, however, the workings of Divine Grace are almost always complex, and it is never beyond the bounds of possibility that God, in order to win a man to Him, should make use of the worst means as well as of the best to take him for his own . . ." Or speaking of the question of Church and State: ". . . The weighty problem of the relations between Church and State began to rear its head in urgent terms as soon as Constantine adhered to Christianity, a decision which, if not actually Machiavellian, was at any rate made with definite purposes in mind . . ." all of which leaves the reader wondering what school of Constantinian criticism the writer favors. Again, Mr. Daniel-Rops would hardly gain the gratitude of St. Benedict for the comment on his monks that they had ". . . the desire to make contact with the rest of mankind, to organize studies . . . even to preserve the elements of culture."

Although a select bibliography is appended, it is merely a shrunken version of the vast bibliography of the original and primary sources are not included in this English version. The index while usable is quite inadequate since it is primarily concerned with proper names. Despite these weaknesses the work should receive the wide circulation that it deserves. It is undoubtedly one of the finest syntheses yet available on a very dark period in the history of the Church in general and of western European civilization in particular. It is to be hoped that the high price of the volume will not prevent such a circulation and reading.

JUSTIN J. VOJTEK

*St. Anselm's College*

*The Sacred Bridge*. By Eric Werner. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. xx, 618. $15.00.)

Eric Werner was born in Vienna, educated in European universities, received his doctorate at the University of Strasbourg, and was awarded

a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1957. He is at present professor of liturgical music and Chairman of the School of Sacred Music at the Hebrew Union College and the Institute of Jewish Religion of Cincinnati and New York City. While the title of the book gives some indication of the author's intention, the reviewer (and the reader) may consider this work from two points of view—separately or together: 1) a compilation of archeological sources from which abundant specialized information may be obtained; 2) the implications of the interweaving of the Jewish and Christian liturgies. As for the first point of view, *The Sacred Bridge* offers the church musician, the liturgist, the archeologist, and the student of comparative religion about as useful and complete a compendium of the origins of music and sacred texts in the worship of the Christian Church as can be found anywhere, even after years of careful research. The author gives logical form and direction to this immense amount of material by dividing the work into two basic and intensive studies: first, the historico-liturgical elements of both religions; secondly, a comparison of the musical source-forms from the original confluence of Jewish and Christian worship. What is particularly gratifying in both sections of the book is the generous use of examples which represent an unequalled coverage of sources and also serve to indicate significances which might be overlooked by one in search of some isolated point.

The author successfully traces the gradual changes in the Christian liturgical format without failing to keep before the reader its Jewish point of origin, at least as regards texts and music. The common format, which is still familiar to all of us (outside the Christian preoccupation with the Eucharist), consists of Scripture readings, psalmodic recitations, selected antiphons, and prayer formulae. As for ritual itself, little is said because the author is convinced that the early Christians, while gladly continuing the type of worship practiced in the synagogues, were opposed to the Temple ceremonial which was so dependent upon a hierarchical and priestly caste. Perhaps, the more obvious reason would be that they sensed the passing of Old Testament expiations and sacrifices. The equating of Jewish and Christian musical forms in the latter part of the volume may be the cause of some misunderstanding by the casual reader. Comparative musical scores of both religions seem to be an excursion into tune-detecting rather than the exemplification of common fruits from the same modal tree. Credo III, Sanctus IX and XVII, and Agnus XVII (though they may have been produced after the "first millennium") will sound very much like any Jewish chant which has FA for its tonic note and DO for its dominant, just as many pieces based on the modern major scale will inevitably have sections in close resemblance to one another. It may, therefore, be gratuitous to assume that any appreciable number of Christian chants came as a direct loan from the Synagogue.

With regard to the second viewpoint from which one may consider *The Sacred Bridge*, we would be inclined to look upon it as a rather flimsy structure, unadapted as yet to traffic. Likenesses in liturgy and song are not in themselves a strong bond, though they may create a mutual interest. It is entirely understandable that the early Christians would not be inclined to change their mode of worship and, in fact, would be more likely to adapt what they were used to, even to eucharistic worship. Likewise, outside of ritual there is little else that could be contrived for divine services beyond Scripture reading, prayer-formulae, and song; and the latter would be more likely the psalmodic recitations and hymns in which the apostles often joined with our Lord. The point of departure need not be here; it comes with the whole Christological concept. The real division is between the Old Testament and the New, and the former takes on another meaning precisely because of its fulfillment in the latter. The fact that it is used so extensively in Christian liturgy only emphasizes the point. It was this very fear of a continuing status quo which preoccupied St. Paul through most of his writings and missions; he stressed separation without giving much attention to liturgical practices unless they signified a point of doctrine, which they sometimes did if they involved certain Jewish ceremonials. Hence this reviewer feels that the difference in the minds of the first Christians was considerably deeper than an aversion to hierarchical priesthood and ritual in the Temple. At the same time, they saw no incompatibility giving God the worship due to Him through ordinary attendance at the Synagogue, provided they could withdraw for the eucharistic sacrifice.

No doubt these ideas are as clear to the author of *The Sacred Bridge* as they are to any student of historical religion, but a reader with less training might be inclined to assume from the general tone of the book that the patent evidence of likenesses in liturgical forms creates a vital unity between the two religions which has been commonly overlooked. The profound sincerity and scholarship which characterize the author's approach would only lend weight to this false conclusion. Nevertheless, Eric Werner has contributed an inestimable service to the cause of better understanding and, above all, interest on the part of both Jews and Christians in the origins of Christian worship. Scholars of all sorts have reason to be grateful that this book is available.

JOHN C. SELNER
*The Catholic University of America*

*Histoire de Saint Dominique.* By M.-H. Vicaire, O.P. Two Volumes. (Paris: Les Editions du Cerf. 1957. Pp. 393; 408.)

French scholars make a distinction between a *vie* and an *histoire*—between a mere biography and a work which places the individual about

whom they write against the background of his times so as to portray satisfactorily the man, his ideals, his work, and his far-reaching influence on his own and subsequent times. The work under review is a true *histoire*. The author of the two volumes brings to his task more than twenty-five years of profound research in the field of Dominican history. He has here produced a work which must be considered a definitive biography of the saint and a definitive history of Dominic's apostolate as well as of the formative years of the religious orders he founded. Fourteen pages of bibliography, all items of which are used to excellent advantage in the text, assure the reader that no essential detail has been omitted and, we may add, has been given less than adequate treatment.

Each volume consists of ten chapters, four appendices, a number of splendid full-page halftones, and several line maps of the territories in which Dominic worked. The maps are lacking a scale of distance, but this is scarcely a handicap since the places are indicated with relative accuracy and the interested reader may check distances by comparing with a good atlas. The eight appendices are extremely enlightening and give further evidence of the extraordinary research the author did in preparing for and executing the work. The numerous footnotes (in their proper place at the foot of the page) are a veritable mine of information and form a most valuable reference not only to the life and work of St. Dominic, but also to the early history of the orders he founded and the general history of the period in which he lived.

While the work is strictly a scientific study it will not be without a certain amount of popular appeal, because the author inserts a great many intimate and interesting details about the saint and his orders that will serve to make Dominic and things Dominican better known and appreciated. Even these details are as carefully verified from authentic sources as are the broader facts that go to make the work a true *histoire*. Père Vicaire's method of making cross-references is, at times, confusing, to say the least. Several such references were found to be entirely misleading and a lengthy search must be made to find the pertinent passage in note or text.

A separate and adequate index is provided for each of the two volumes. The print, even the fine print, is clear; but the edition used by the present reviewer is paper covered and the signatures tend to become loose after the volumes have been used a few times. It is to be hoped that another edition (preferably in one volume) in a more substantial form has already been, or will soon be issued.

VICTOR E. MILLS

*Holy Name College*
*Washington*

*Saint Dominique. Révolutionnaire de Dieu.* By Jean Girou. (Paris: Editions Albin Michel. 1959. Pp. 280. 1,075 frs.)

This popular biography is a highly literary work. Indeed, the author manifests a keen sense of the picturesque and the dramatic throughout, and the summary closing chapter has the design and cadence of a funeral eulogy. The leaflet included in the volume by the publisher well describes the purpose of the author as *de brosser une fresque historique.* These aspects probably stem from M. Girou's experience in that literary type so attractive to French taste which combines a subjective feeling for a region with its history, archaeology, and art. Twenty-two such works of the author are listed in the front matter of this volume. A highly selective bibliography lists twelve basic contemporary sources, fourteen monographs on St. Dominic, and eighteen on Albigensianism. The secondary sources are all in French. Recent popular works in other languages have done far better than this. Gerard K. Brady's volume published in English in 1957 includes more numerous items in its bibliography in several foreign languages. The *Santo Domingo de Guzman visto por suas contemporaneas* of Gelabert, Milagro, and de Garganta published in Spanish in 1947, though it seems intended for a popular audience by its translations, has a tremendous bibliography and critical apparatus. Girou has appended no footnote documentation, but he does name the author before each direct quotation from a contemporary. The selection of quotations seems dictated by the picturesque, and are drawn for the most part from pious legends.

There is little that is new that can be included in the life of a figure so frequently the subject of biography as St. Dominic. Any originality achieved must rest in the interpretation of his work and the background of the age in which he lived. For its simplicity and directness I much prefer the great Dominican scholar Vicaire's brief commentary for Leonard Matt's *St. Dominic. A Pictorial Biography* (English translation, Chicago, 1957). It is a masterly presentation, although entirely devoid of documentation. A few slight errors have been imbedded in Girou's text. The master named "Stavensky" (p. 142) should read "Stavensby." Girou has also assumed that Madrid was both a national capital and a university center in the thirteenth century (pp. 169, 170, 222, and 229). Unfortunately, for the parallels he draws this was not the case.

CYRIL E. SMITH

*Marquette University*

*York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate (1279-1296).* By Robert Brentano. [University of California Publications in History, Volume 58.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 293. $6.00.)

There is little record of regular diocesan or provincial visitation before the thirteenth century when the practice was revived after the Fourth Lateran Council. In England, in the course of this century, a succession of exceptionally able Archbishops of Canterbury carried out a series of visitations in the southern province with little opposition and with marked success. It was otherwise in the northern Province of York. In 1274 Archbishop Walter Giffard made a visitation of Durham priory which was little more than a formality. His successor, William Wickwane (1279-1285), was the first Archbishop of York to undertake a thorough visitation of the province, an attempt which was at once bitterly resisted by the diocesan bishop, the monks of the cathedral priory, and the secular clergy as an infringement of their rights. The archbishop promptly excommunicated the rebels and placed Durham under an interdict. Both parties then appealed to Rome. Thus began a legal tussle, as scandalous as it was expensive, which led to five years of futile litigation in the courts of canon law.

It is impossible to summarize briefly the course of this complicated legal tangle which Dr. Brentano has unravelled from a mass of materials in the archives of Durham, York, London, and Rome. In the course of these five years four distinct sets of papal mandates were issued to papal judges delegate, and six separate courts met in England to try the case and give judgment. Bribes were offered and taken, judges seduced, all the complicated devices of the canon law were employed to confuse and delay the issue. "Cases in the court of Rome," one of the parties wrote, "are like things eternal, and only with difficulty come to an effective end." There was to be no effective end to this case in the ecclesiastical courts. Twice in the course of these years the archbishop attempted to resume the visitation. On the first occasion he was nearly murdered, his servants were stoned by the townspeople, the women of Durham hacked at his horse and cut off its ear. Public disorder forced the willing intervention of the crown, and in 1286 both parties were obliged to accept a compromise which, significantly, completely disregarded the provisions of the canon law.

The complex and confusing history of these events is almost as tedious as it is unedifying. It is, nevertheless, an essential part of the later mediaeval scene in England, and it vividly illustrates some of the weaknesses in the Church at a time of rapidly approaching crisis: the incompetence of the papal government under Martin IV; the ineffectiveness of

the system of papal judges delegate; the decay of ecclesiastical government, of which Roger Bacon complained. Above all, perhaps, it shows how good and earnest churchmen were prepared to dissipate their time and energies in fruitless and protracted litigation in defense of their real and imagined rights to the neglect of their more evident duties. Wickwane was a zealous bishop and an earnest reformer; after his death he was venerated as a saint. But the records of his episcopate show him engaged for a greater part of his time in a legal conflict which seriously distracted him from the work of his diocese. In all this there is not merely a moral: there is also the shadow of greater disasters still to come.

GERARD CULKIN

*Ushaw College*
*Durham*

*The Council of Florence.* By Joseph Gill, S.J. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1959. Pp. xviii, 453. $8.50.)

Despite the significance of the Council of Florence (the seventeenth ecumenical, 1438-1445) for both ecclesiastical and general history, an adequate account in accord with the canons of contemporary historical writing has hitherto been lacking in any language. This was in large measure due to the state of the primary source material. The turning point in the historiography of the council may be reckoned from the inception and progress of the monumental series: *Concilium Florentinum: Documenta et Scriptores* being published by the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies (Rome, 1940-). Initiated by the late Georg Hofmann, S.J., who was also the most active contributor, the series will remain a permanent tribute to him and his collaborators. Among them is the author of the present study, editor of the volumes (V, 1-2): *Quae supersunt actorum graecorum Concilii Florentini* (1953). By virtue of his extensive researches for this edition and allied studies, Father Gill was well prepared to undertake the account of the council in its full historical setting now presented at the term of his own and of his colleagues' long preliminary labors.

An introduction provides a brief descriptive appraisal of the chief surviving sources. It is a résumé of the author's conclusions based on earlier studies, which have made it clear that a simple choice between the composite *Greek Acts* and the anti-unionist *Memoirs* of the Constantinopolitan deacon, Silvester Syropoulus, is no longer possible as a solution for the problems presented by these main Greek sources. While holding for the greater reliability of the *Greek Acts,* however, the indispensable nature of the Syropoulus narrative is fully recognized and generous use is made of it throughout. One observation that might be made regards the method of its use rather than the substance of its evaluation. In places the

author's text incorporates details from Syropoulus only to correct or deny them in a note (e.g., pp. 300, 303). The reverse would seem more satisfactory procedure by giving the reader the author's reconstruction and relegating discussion of differences to the notes. In any case, the author can hardly be said to have slighted Syropoulus.

Sketching the background of the East-West schism from the time of Constantine I (Chapter 1), the relations of Martin V and of the Council of Basel with Byzantium are treated in detail (Chapters 2-3) before taking up the recital of the exasperatingly drawn-out sessions at Ferrara and Florence and the last stages of the council at Rome (Chapters 4-9). A final chapter recounts the fate of the Decree of Union in the East down to the capture of Constantinople in 1453, the climax to the failure of this vast and complex enterprise for the causes of Christian reunion and mutual aid. An epilogue gives the author's judicious answers to the questions: "Why did the union with the Greeks fail?" and "Was the union made freely?"

Although a failure in its main objective of Christian reunion, the far-reaching effects of the council in East-West relations and in western European developments of the Renaissance and Reformation periods make this a signal contribution to historical studies in these fields. Originally scheduled for publication in 1958, the book was in press before the announcement by Pope John XXIII of the intention to convene an ecumenical council, but the prospect of another conciliar effort in the cause of Christian reunion in such greatly altered historical circumstances five centuries after Ferrara-Florence will assure an even wider circle of readers for this competent and scholarly study.

Some minor suggestions are offered for an eventual second printing. "Richard" is unusual for the Visigoth Recared (p. 217). For "Massilio" Ficino read Marsilio (p. 188). Uniformity in proper names is preferable, e.g., to alternate use of Italian and English forms for Andrew, Nicholas, and notably Giovanni, ——di, ——da, (John of —), Montenero; also Nathanael, ——iel. Frequent references to works edited in Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum scriptores,* without indication of the work cited, are disconcerting.

J. Joseph Ryan

*St. John's Seminary*
*Brighton*

*From Florence to Brest (1439-1596).* By Oscar Halecki. (Roma: Sacrum Poloniae Millennium; New York: Fordham University Press. 1959. Pp. 444. $6.00.)

Professor Halecki's latest work is an exhaustive study of the Ruthenian Church in its relationship to Rome during the period 1439-1596. Though

completely independent, it is a sequel to Joseph Gill's excellent treatise on the Council of Florence. While Gill's concern is with the council itself, Halecki shows how it had lasting results in preparing for and leading to the Union of Brest a century and a half later. To regard the regional union effected at Brest as a revival of the Florentine union is not novel, but the thesis has never been worked out so thoroughly and in such painstaking detail.

The Council of Florence met at a time when the political and religious situation in northeastern Europe approached chaos. The Grand Duke of Moscow dominated all of Great Russia and exercised a telling influence in much of White Russia. Kievan Rus, on the other hand, was joined with the Polish-Lithuanian confederation. The tenuous bonds between Poland and Lithuania, established through the marriage of the Polish queen, Jadwiga, and the Grand Duke of Lithuania, Jagello, stood in danger from civil war and internecine rivalries. Moscow, moreover, belonged to the religious jurisdiction of the Metropolitan of Kiev who, in turn, was under the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Orthodox Metropolitan of Kiev owed civil obedience to the Grand Duke of Lithuania, a Latin Catholic. The Grand Duke favored Pope Eugene IV in the tug of war between that pontiff and the anti-papal Council of Basel which had the support of the Polish king, Sigismund. Isidore, the "Metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia," played a leading role in negotiating the agreement between East and West in 1439. (He was rewarded with a cardinal's hat later the same year.) Isidore was less successful, however, when he tried to win acceptance of the union in his own ecclesiastical province. Muscovite Russia strenuously opposed it, and there was little sympathy for it among the Ruthenians of Poland and Lithuania. The Latin clergy of Poland, continuing to back the Council of Basel even after it elected an anti-pope, could hardly favor a union arranged by the opposition.

The cause of union suffered a further reversal when Casmir, King of Poland, instituted a policy of appeasement. He negotiated a treaty with Moscow in 1449 and two years later recognized Iona as Metropolitan of Kiev. Previously Iona, with the support of the grand duke, had usurped the title, "Metropolitan of Moscow," without approval of either Kiev or Constantinople. Isidore, the rightful metropolitan, did not protest the violation for he was principally concerned with the fate of his native Byzantium. (The reason for Isidore's prolonged absence from his see was that he served as papal envoy *in partibus Graecis* during 1444-1448—a fact passed over by Halecki.) Casmir's efforts at appeasement did not pay and by 1459 he was willing to listen to new overtures from Rome. In an attempt to contain the growing influence of Moscow, Pius II reorganized the Ruthenian Church. Isidore, while retaining nominal jurisdiction over Muscovite Russia, resigned as Metropolitan of Kiev in favor of his long-

time associate, Gregory. Gregory, like Isidore, a Greek, was styled Archbishop of Kiev and was to have nine suffragan bishops in the restricted territory of "Inferior Russia." Gaining first the support of King Casmir, Gregory was accepted by the Ruthenian hierarchy as metropolitan in 1460 which marked the definitive separation of the metropolies of Moscow and Kiev. Gregory favored the union, but his record "could be interpreted as an abandonment of the Union of Florence by the very man who was supposed to assure its survival at least among the Ruthenians" (p. 97). Gregory sought and eventually got recognition for his position from the schismatic Patriarchs of Trebizond (c. 1470) and Constantinople (1472). Halecki defends Gregory, for he says that, in spite of his fraternization with the schismatics, he was never considered, either at Rome or in later tradition, as anything but loyal to the union of Florence. Rome's silence about Gregory's activities may be interpreted in terms of political expediency and/or by the fact that the fifteenth-century popes after Pius II were apathetic toward union with the eastern Slavs except, perhaps, as a necessary adjunct to an anti-Ottoman alliance.

The broad features of Gregory's policy were followed by his immediate successors in the See of Kiev. They were anxious to remain in communion with Rome without, however, breaking completely with Constantinople now under Turkish domination. At the beginning of the sixteenth century a change took place. The Metropolitans of Kiev grew almost as cool toward the Holy See as the Metropolitans of Moscow. Many factors contributed to the worsening of relations, but three stand out: 1) the Turks exploited the Patriarchate of Constantinople to forestall any religious union which would prove dangerous politically; 2) the continued existence of the Polish-Lithuanian entente stood in jeopardy from a constitutional crisis; and 3) the tenor and decrees of the Council of Florence were unknown to, or at least, ignored by the Latin hierarchy in Poland. Without a formal split from Rome, the Ruthenians were *de facto* again in schism. Halecki argues that, setbacks notwithstanding, the union effected at Florence in 1439 was never entirely forgotten. Peter Skarga, the zealous Jesuit who worked strenuously for union, helped keep the Florentine tradition alive with his famous treatise on church unity, first published in 1569. The efforts of Skarga and Antonio Possevino for union restricts the generalization sometimes made that the "obstinancy" of the Jesuits was an impediment to the Union of Brest [cf. William L. Langer, *An Encyclopaedia of World History* (Boston, 1952 ed.), p. 415].

A necessary prelude to religious unity was the political and constitutional union agreed upon at the Diet of Lublin in 1569. Though the settlement allowed Lithuania limited autonomy, that country was all but merged under a common sovereign and a common diet with the Kingdom of Poland. Protestants, especially Calvinists, and the more radical anti-Trinitarian

sects had profited from what Halecki terms "an unusual tolerance" (p. 142) in the Jagellonian states. The new political arrangement made them fearful lest greater centralization would result in tighter controls. To safeguard their position under less tolerant rulers, the Calvinists wanted to unite with the Orthodox in an anti-Catholic front. Their activities, though a source of harassment, were to have an opposite effect. A new hurdle appeared unexpectedly when in 1582 Gregory XIII promulgated his calendar reform. The Orthodox, sharing the Protestant bias against any innovation of papal origin, refused to accept it because it would affect their religious observances, e.g., the date of Easter. However incidental to the cause of union, the change entered into the question because of its repercussions on public opinion. Continued Protestant infiltration into the ranks of Orthodoxy alarmed the Ruthenian hierarchy. The bishops made overtures to renew their ties with Rome. They received encouragement from the Latin hierarchy, especially the zealous Bishop of Luck, Bernard Maciejowski; and they got strong support from the king and Latin nobles. Rome, working persistently for an anti-Ottoman league, welcomed the Ruthenian proposal for political as well as religious reasons.

Almost all the witnesses to the events of 1594-1596 in Brest and Rome looked back to the Council of Florence for a precedent. The importance of that agreement drawn up in 1439 is understood when one realizes that some theologians in Rome wanted to Latinize the Ruthenians, even to the point of forcing them to adopt the unpopular Gregorian calendar. Clement VIII, a former nuncio to Poland, was sympathetic to the appeal of the Ruthenians; and furthermore, there was the recent union of the Jacobites. The policy adopted in their case was applied also in the case of the Ruthenians. They had simply to renounce all teaching contrary to the Council of Florence, and accept the dogmatic decisions of the Council of Trent.

Although there is little in the account not previously told (frequently by Halecki himself), the author supports his thesis with fresh documentation. Fortified with a Fulbright grant and a Guggenheim Scholarship, he was able to search the Vatican Archives, the Vatican Library, and many other continental depositories for material. If he had compiled a systematic bibliography, few monographs and studies would not be listed. One notable omission, however, is Baronius who, in an appendix to Tome IX, has transcribed "De Ruthenis ad communionem Sedis Apostolicae receptis monumentum." As confessor to Clement VIII (1594) and protonotarius (1595) he was privy to many of the events of the day.

Halecki's painstaking research and long years in the field have made this a work of major importance. Unfortunately, it is seriously marred by poor proof-reading, maladroit phrases, and an obtuse style. Spelling mis-

takes abound: p. 48: Hussit*e;* p. 49: G*h*ost; p. 67: to*o;* p. 208: convinc*i*ng; p. 285: sen*d;* p. 355: *i*mprisonment; p. 364: o*u*t; p. 396: cal*l*. Phrases such as "Jesuit monk" (p. 203), "contemporaneous theologians" (p. 278, n. 33), "religious orders" for *holy* orders (p. 245), are incorrect. These deficiencies, though irritating, are venial when compared with the defective style—***un péché vraiment irrémissible***. Sentences are long, unwieldy, and rendered obscure by irregular use of adverbs and adverbial phrases. A lack of rhetorical emphasis makes it nearly impossible to divine the author's line of argument without re-reading much of the material. Heavy writing turns Halecki's treatise into a reference tool rather than making it, what it might have been, the definitive work on the subject.

BERARD L. MARTHALER

*Assumption Seminary*
*Chaska, Minnesota*

*The Life of Girolamo Savonarola.* By Roberto Ridolfi. Translated from the Italian by Cecil Grayson. (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc. 1959. Pp. x, 325. $7.50.)

After having read the original Italian edition of this biography the late Giovanni Papini wrote, "This will be, for all time, the definitive and classic biography of the celebrated Florentine Friar who was burned in the Piazza della Signoria." Other historians have read the Ridolfi biography but are hardly ready to say that it is "definitive." Seldom if ever is the historian silenced by the ominous word that a work is "definitive." Particularly is this true in the case of the highly controversial Dominican friar. It is doubtful if the last word will ever be written about Savonarola, for if Ridolfi was able to find new evidence in his researches for this work, what is to prevent some future historian from making similar discoveries?

The volume under review has been a labor of love for the biographer. There is nothing dull about it. Ridolfi has drawn a portrait of his hero that paints him as both intelligent and saintly. He has read most of the printed literature on Savonarola, although it is unfortunate that he overlooked the life by Herbert Lucas, S.J., since the latter's evaluation was quite different from his own. Ludwig von Pastor is not ignored, but he is castigated for having written about Savonarola without a sufficient study of his life and without a first-hand knowledge of his works. Ridolfi says that Pastor's treatment was "generally biased and remarkably full of errors" (p. 316). This condemnation is rather strange. While it is true that at times even Homer nods, we can hardly believe that Pastor would be found napping when such an important figure would be under consideration. In fact, Ridolfi gives no evidence of the errors which he claims he has found in Pastor.

What does one find in Pastor that is not found in Ridolfi? Pastor quotes Savonarola as having stated in one of his sermons, "Plato and Aristotle are fast in hell. Any old woman knows more about faith than Plato. It would be good for the faith if many of these seemingly precious books could be destroyed" (*History of the Popes*, V, 193). Ridolfi makes no mention of this sermon. Incidentally, St. Augustine would have been shocked to hear this tirade against his beloved Plato. Pastor also chided Savonarola for his imprudence and injustice in his sermons, e.g., commenting on the friar's sharp attacks against Alexander VI, the Medici, and the evils of the days, he stated "unfortunately, in combatting the corruption, the zealous friar had not only overstepped the bounds of prudence but even those of fairness and justice . . . it is impossible to approve of some of the means by which Savonarola sought to carry out his reforms. Gamblers were to be punished with torture and blasphemers were to have their tongues pierced" (V, 205). Again, "The friar who had found so many excuses for evading the command of his spiritual superiors lost no time in obeying the orders of the secular power" (VI, 11). In another connection the historian of the popes commented, "Savonarola forgot that according to the teaching of the Church, an evil life cannot deprive the Pope or any other ecclesiastical authority of his lawful jurisdiction" (VI, 53).

For having passed over in silence these less praiseworthy aspects of Savonarola's career Ridolfi can be charged with the sin of *suppressio veri*. If the two portraits of Savonarola by Ridofi and Pastor are placed side by side they are found to be radically different. Ridolfi would seem to belong to that school of writers whose axiom is *de mortuis nihil nisi bonum*, and he would have been better served had he employed the *advocatus diaboli* who can never be dispensed with by the writer whose aim is a well balanced biography. Savonarola was, it is true, a saintly man, but even holy men have their faults. One's sympathy for him is understandable, especially for his having to submit to death by fire. But this reviewer still prefers the portrait as drawn by Pastor over sixty years ago rather than the more recent one of Ridolfi.

EDWARD V. CARDINAL

*St. Viator Church*
*Chicago*

*Diario della Conciliazione, con verbali e appendice di documenti.* By Francesco Pacelli. Edited by Michele Maccarrone. (Vatican City: Libreria Editrice Vaticana. 1959. Pp. viii, 575. Lire 3,500.)

That the Lateran Pact remains not only a subject of historical interest but also a matter of enduring importance to the Holy See and to the universal Church is indicated by the fact that the private diary of Francesco

Pacelli has been published on the thirtieth anniversary of the signing of the treaty and concordat and only two years after the appearance of the commemorative volume entitled *Il Grande Ideale: la Conciliazione,* to which three curial cardinals contributed articles. In this collection, however, as in other recent works (such as those by Castelli and Jemolo) treating the relations between Church and State in Italy, the account of the negotiations that led up to the agreement of February 11, 1929, depends mainly on the documented but biased history written by Carlo Alberto Biggini in 1942. Although this author used the papers of Domenico Barone, the sincerely Catholic representative of Mussolini's government in the preparation of the Lateran Pact, he interpreted motives and intentions in the light of his own Fascist convictions and hardly missed an opportunity to extol the Duce's devious conduct or to expound his totalitarian theories regarding religion, politics, and education. There was an obvious need, therefore, of making public some unimpeachable testimony from the opposite side which would faithfully reflect the Holy See's point of view.

Francesco Pacelli kept this journal assiduously from August 5, 1926, the day on which (having just returned to Rome from the eucharistic congress held in Chicago) he made his first appointment with Barone, to June 7, 1929, the day on which he witnessed the exchange of ratifications in the Vatican. Besides the daily entries, the eminent jurist also recorded the minutes of the fifteen sessions that he had directly with Mussolini after the death of Barone from January 8 to February 9, 1929. Before he died in 1935 he entrusted these precious papers to his brother, who, as Pope Pius XII, handed them over to Monsignor Maccarrone in 1957 for publication. The editor has added many explanatory notes and some necessary corrections and has appended forty-three pertinent documents including official letters, preparatory drafts as well as the final text of the treaty and concordat, memorials, and even two articles from *L'Osservatore Romano.* Provided with complete indices and several plates, this beautifully printed book lacks only the maps to which frequent references are made; those annexed to the treaty, however, were reproduced by the same Vatican Polyglot Press in 1946 in its edition of the *Patti Lateranensi.*

Although the diary is written in a factual, concise, almost legal style, it clearly reveals its author as conscientious, intelligent, resourceful, energetic, tactful, and thoroughly worthy of Pius XI's confidence in one of the few political affairs (as Jemolo remarks) that was successfully kept secret until the end. Only rarely are his personal reactions set down, e.g., when Cardinal Gasparri informed him on October 21, 1927, that if the Italian government should request a resumption of the interrupted negotiations, the Holy See would appoint Monsignor Borgongini Duca its official representative, Pacelli, who had already made so much progress in his

semi-official capacity, wrote: "This last declaration, which I listened to in perfect silence without making any reply, seemed to me to be in direct opposition to the statement that the Holy Father made to me in the audience on the fifteenth." Then under date of June 6, 1929, which the placid scholar called "perhaps the most laborious and difficult day of the negotiations," he described Mussolini's alarming refusal to proceed with the formal ratification unless the pope explicitly admitted that a violation of the concordat (as could happen in the controversial provisions on marriage) would not terminate the treaty and thus reopen the Roman Question; and he commented: "After a long argument, during which by the grace of God I did not lose my temper, I proposed another formula." Since both the Duce and the pontiff accepted it, Pacelli must be credited with having saved the cause at the last minute.

Even lightened by such human and dramatic touches, an account of 127 audiences with Pius XI (together with Gasparri in fifty-seven), of fifty-three interviews with the Secretary of State alone, of 102 conversations with Barone, of twenty-one interviews with Mussolini before the signing and eighteen after, and of many other meetings with Vatican and Italian officials would have made for heavy reading if the course of the negotiations had not been directly influenced by the simultaneous struggle between the Holy See and the Fascist government over the rights of the Church in Italy. The so-called reprisals of the Blackshirts against Catholic banks and co-operatives after the attempt on the Duce's life, the decrees against the Catholic Boy Scouts and other youth organizations not under the direction of the Balilla, the press campaign against a restoration of the temporal power of the papacy, and finally Mussolini's offensive speeches before the Chamber and the Senate caused Pius XI to suspend or delay the negotiations at various times, even for several months. Especially with regard to the State's claim to the exclusive control of the entire moral and spiritual education of the young, the intrepid pontiff is shown to have been resolved from the beginning to resist the Fascist encroachments even at the risk of never settling the old controversy about his temporal position. Throughout the diary, indeed, Pius XI is seen to be pursuing purely religious aims in the midst of political questions—in his insistence on the full recognition of his sovereignty, in his evolving opinion on his territorial requirements, in his refusal to allow a reduction of the indemnity. (On November 13, 1927, Pacelli upheld the Holy See's request of two billion lire by using as an example of its heavy expenses the donation of $100,000 recently sent to the United States for the relief of the victims of the flooding Mississippi.) Arranging the terms of this financial settlement, determining the boundaries of the proposed State of Vatican City, and overcoming the reluctance of Victor Emmanuel III to change the status quo were the principal intrinsic difficulties that retarded the mutually

desired *conciliazione*. While Pacelli strove to eliminate the obstacles, the pope was in no hurry; he was willing to expedite the agreement by making concessions in non-essentials, but he was ready to abandon the project rather than sacrifice his principles.

This book is not a history of the origin of the Lateran Pact; in fact, it suggests some questions that it does not answer. Nevertheless, when with the aid of archival materials not yet revealed the definitive history of the Roman Question is written, this edition of Pacelli's diary and other papers is certain to be a most valuable source for the final chapter.

ROBERT TRISCO

*The Catholic University of America*

## AMERICAN CHURCH

*American Catholic Crossroads.* By Walter J. Ong, S.J. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1959. Pp. xi, 160. $3.50.)

Father Ong's compact volume is a plea against intellectual and religious isolationism. He points out that scientific advances have drastically reduced distances that previously separated countries. These advances call upon us to reorientate our thinking "around the fact of evolution—cosmic, organic and intellectual" and to share the results of our thought with others. The tendency of the mediaeval age, a tendency which the author finds all too common even in certain Catholic circles today, was isolationist: to regard all culture other than Christian as non-existent, or at least, to act as if it did not exist. This head-in-the-sand attitude was very unrealistic. Since the time of Christ, we have always had a pluralistic society. The heathen and the Jew lived in the same space-time framework as did the mediaeval Christian, but geographical divisions enabled them to overlook each other's existence. Our technological and scientific advances have cancelled out these divisions and we must recognize that we now move in a compact, pluralistic society. Catholics can no longer comport themselves as though they lived in a vacuum, impervious to the religious needs of their fellowmen. They must share the message of the Gospel with others, finding in their non-Catholic religionists points of agreement as well as those of disagreement. It is only as we communicate—or as the author says "dialogue"—with them that we can discover our common ground.

Father Ong believes that in modern times no one perceived more clearly the true nature of the "cosmos" and the non-isolationist character of Catholicism than the American-born Paulist founder, Isaac Thomas Hecker. He was not only keenly aware of the ideas of growth and progress, but he reveled in them and they were a challenge to him and his Catholic faith. No wonder then that he described the ideal Christian life as "human

nature in its entire force sanctified and transformed" by Catholicism. As a result, he was "open, conciliatory, unifying, vis-à-vis the entirety of the human race." Hecker's international outlook, the author states, is a "lesson for American Catholics today," and they should keep in vital contact with the non-Catholic world in this country and with the non-American world, Catholic and non-Catholic, outside the United States.

The all-embracing character of Catholicism extends into all fields of intellectual and scientific endeavor. In his concluding chapters, Father Ong presents a strong case for research to prevent the sterilization of knowledge. All educators, but especially rectors of Catholic colleges and seminaries, would do well to ponder the author's warning when he discusses the lack of research in a university faculty: "Such a faculty cannot avoid in some sort deforming the mind of its students when it should be forming them. It cannot help being false to its most sacred obligation, which urges itself upon Catholics with particular force, the obligation to help men to know."

This book would be more valuable if the author, a professor of English, wrote with a more lucid and incisive style, for it is heavy reading and its message can be grasped only with patient study and effort. It is unfortunate that the author has not modeled his style on Bancroft's dictum: "Clearness and simplicity in writing are the highest graces." Father Ong's book has neither. It is a provocative study, nevertheless, with a refreshing outlook, stimulating thought, and challenging ideas.

VINCENT F. HOLDEN

*Church of St. Paul the Apostle*
*New York*

*Crosier on the Frontier: A Life of John Martin Henni.* By Peter Leo Johnson. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1959. Pp. xiii, 241. $3.95.)

This volume inaugurates a new series of "State Street Books" published by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. The author is professor of church history at St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, and has published extensively in the field of American Catholic history. In the present volume, based on much research in newspapers and source material in Catholic archival materials in Milwaukee, the University of Notre Dame, and other depositories, he gives us a full length biography of John Martin Henni, a priest for more than a half century, first in Ohio and later as bishop and archbishop in Wisconsin. A native of Switzerland, Henni, at the age of twenty-three, was assigned to the Diocese of Cincinnati, primarily to work among the German immigrants. He rode the Ohio circuit; established the

*Wahrheitsfreund,* the first German Catholic paper in the United States, and, in 1843, was nominated as bishop of the new diocese in Milwaukee where he spent the rest of his life in devoted and intelligent service in the work of his Church.

There is much in this volume which will be of primary interest to Catholic readers, for it deals in detail with local parish history, financial and real estate problems, the work of individual priests and missionaries, parochial schools, dogma, and the manifold problems of administration in an expanding metropolitan see. Henni developed a system of Catholic schools in Wisconsin, from the lower levels to Marquette University; brought in religious orders to staff hospitals and orphanages; encouraged Indian missions; and worked hard to raise the general cultural level of his flock. In 1870 he favored the doctrine of papal infallibility, though he thought this was an inopportune time to raise the question.

There is much as well in this biography of interest and value to the student of United States history, aside from its contribution to American Catholic history. Henni was deeply interested in ministering to the needs of the thousands of German immigrants who came to Ohio and Wisconsin, and in combatting the unfavorable effects of frontier life, and the attacks of Protestantism and radical German freethinkers upon his Church. His *Wahrheitsfreund* debated with Wilhelm Nast's *Christliche Apologete,* which was equally interested in the Americanization of the newcomers, but which wanted to convert Germans to Methodism, and save them from both "Romanism" and agnosticism. Bishop Henni saw the nativist movement of the 1840's and 1850's as merely one aspect of the struggle between Protestantism and Catholicism.

In Wisconsin he was involved in a *Kulturkampf* with the "Forty-eighter" radicals who violently and often viciously attacked all forms of organized religion and clerical control, particularly Catholic. With the bishop's encouragement, Dr. Joseph Saltzman launched the *Seebote,* a Catholic paper in Milwaukee, which took up the challenge of the radical German press in a furious journalistic battle in which it would be difficult to decide which party used the viler language. Such antagonisms carried over toward the new Republican Party, which the *Seebote* described as an organization harboring temperance fanatics, abolitionists, haters of foreigners, despoilers of churches, and "Catholic killers." It may be that Henni "preserved an official silence" (p. 139) on these matters so violently discussed in the *Seebote;* but he opposed sudden emancipation and a war to free the slaves, although he was opposed to slavery; had no truck with fanatical prohibitionists, and later on opposed the Grange "as strongly tinctured with idealism and ritualism" (p. 172). The Germans had a virtual monopoly of the hierarchy in Wisconsin, and the bishop was deeply wor-

ried about the friction and rivalry between Irish and German Catholics. When the time came to find a successor to Archbishop Henni, the question initiated a conflict between Irish and German leaders of the Church which lasted for two decades.

CARL WITTKE

*Western Reserve University*

*The McLoughlin Empire and Its Rulers, Doctor John McLoughlin, Doctor David McLoughlin, Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry).* By Burt Brown Barker. (Glendale, California: Arthur H. Clark Co. 1959. Pp. 370. $12.50.)

This volume easily divides itself into two parts: narrative and documentary. The former is based on various printed collections of documents and secondary works, as well as on the letters and documents which constitute the second part of this work. The latter is made up of McLoughlin-Fraser letters (Appendix I), McLoughlin-Fraser documents (Appendix II), and of various other pertinent papers, letters, and miscellanies (Appendices III-VIII). These materials, for the most part, are among the collections housed in the McLoughlin Memorial Association at Oregon City, Oregon. In Angelique Fraser McLoughlin, the daughter of Colonel Malcolm, seignior of Mount Murray Seigniory, Province of Quebec, the wife of the farmer, John McLoughlin, and the mother of Drs. John and David and Marie Louise (Sister St. Henry, O.S.U.), we have the link which joined these families, Scotch and Protestant, Irish and Catholic.

The central character is Dr. John McLoughlin (1784-1857), the "father of Oregon." His letters, which comprise more than two-thirds of the 118 found in Appendix I, show him to have been a man of deep family piety. In his earlier years he was concerned with the medical education of his brother, David, and in his later life with the education and proper upbringing of his own children. As he was in the Upper Country since 1803, he was represented in these matters by Dr. Simon Fraser, his maternal uncle, and Sister St. Henry, his sister. Though Dr. John's life was spent largely with trappers and traders, the career of Dr. David in Paris and London, the offices of Sister St. Henry at the Ursuline convent in Quebec, the activities of the McLoughlins at Rivière-du-Loup and the Frasers at Murray Bay and Terrebonne greatly affected that life. Hitherto unpublished materials on John McLoughlin, Jr., and on other of the doctor's children, further inform us of his personal concerns. And these materials supplement other collections and give us a wider knowledge of the doctor and his times.

In a short introductory note the author-editor states that he is the first to use the letters printed in Appendix I. But in 1935 and 1936 in the

*Oregon Historical Quarterly* (Volumes XXXVI and XXXVII), Mrs. Jane Lewis Chapin edited some forty of these letters; and in 1941, in the Hudson's Bay Series (Volume IV, p. xxxi), Dr. W. Kaye Lamb wrote that he based his narrative there "in great part" upon the letters deposited at Oregon City. Thus Barker's statement that he is publishing them "for the first time" is definitely misleading. Here and there, unfortunately, the editing is slipshod. No attempt was made to identify the Curé Trutault (p. 23), or the major in the United States Army (p. 174), while "Jacques Maclas (p. 24) becomes John McLoughlin, grandfather of the doctor. The style of the narrative is nervous to the point of distraction and repetetious. The author is also much given to conjectures (see p. 33). Nonetheless, Mr. Barker, in his indefatigable search for materials on Dr. McLoughlin, has placed every future historian of early Oregon history in his debt and is accordingly to be congratulated.

WILLIAM L. DAVIS

*Gonzaga University*

*Willamette Interlude.* By Sister Mary Dominica McNamee, S.N.D. (Palo Alto: Pacific Books. 1959. Pp. xxviii, 302. $4.50.)

The six Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur who in 1844 sailed from Holland to establish mission schools and to work for the conversion of the Indians of the Willamette Valley in Oregon were all Belgian-born and Namur-trained. They were strong-willed, single-minded, valiant women and their background had prepared them well for the work before them. The dangerous journey in the uncomfortable, dirty, rat-infested Dutch brig, *l'Infatigable,* lasted for seven harrowing months during which the voyage was broken only for brief stops at the Pacific ports of Valparaiso and Callao. So it was late in July before the ship finally docked at the Hudson's Bay Company's Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River.

This sector of the Oregon Country in which the sisters made their first foundations was still dominated in the 1840's by the American and Canadian fur trader and was populated chiefly by the friendly Clatsop and the sullen Chinook tribes. During the eight years that the Notre Dame Sisters worked in Oregon they taught the natives at the same time that they were establishing, at the cost of great physical suffering and extreme hardship, a combined orphanage and school at St. Paul and an academy at Oregon City. In this undertaking they were aided by the Jesuit Fathers and by Archbishop Francis Norbert Blanchet, whose diocese included the Oregon Territory. By 1850 trouble over land deeds, only mediocre success with the stubborn and lazy Indians, and the decreased enrollment in the academy were but a few of the factors influencing the sisters toward the new mission field of California where the discovery of gold seemed to

promise greater security and a wider field of endeavor. For these reasons, when, in 1851, Bishop Alemany of San Francisco invited them to settle in his diocese, the sisters closed their Oregon convents and established a boarding school in San Jose, then the capital of California. The brief interlude in the Willamette Valley was over.

A short summary of this book gives no adequate idea of the soundness of the historical writing nor of the effectiveness of the prose style. The author has made excellent critical use of her source materials, especially of the letters and journals of the Notre Dame Sisters and of their Jesuit advisor and protector, Father Pierre Jean De Smet. It is, above all, important to note that Sister Dominica's narrative does not attempt to minimize the errors in judgment nor the failures that, on occasion, resulted from imprudent or precipitate decisions on the part of the Notre Dame superiors. *Willamette Interlude* is, as a result, a sound scholarly contribution to the frontier history of an area which, due in part to the Whitman massacre and the so-called Whitman legend, has already inspired a plethora of works dealing with the Methodist missions in Oregon. This work helps in no small measure to fill in the Catholic picture. The style of the work is generally pleasing, although it is occasionally weakened through an excessive use of exclamatory passages. The footnotes, which are informative as well as interesting, are unfortunately relegated to the back of the book. The vignette drawings are cleverly done and add much to an exceptionally pleasing format.

SISTER MARY COLETTE STANDART

*Junipero Memorial High School*
*Monterey*

## GENERAL

*Light from the Ancient Past. The Archeological Background of Judaism and Christianity.* By Jack Finegan. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. 2nd ed. Pp. xxxvii, 638. $10.00.)

The second and thoroughly revised edition of Finegan's work will be eagerly welcomed by all teachers and students who have used the first edition [reviewed in this journal XXXII (July, 1946), 221-222]. Thirteen years have proved the marked success of this book as a tool for college and theological students who wish to orientate themselves in the vast field of ancient Near Eastern and early Christian archaeology and history. During this time Finegan has kept pace with the archaeological and interpretative results in this field, as is evidenced by the archaeological surveys he has published frequently in the *Journal of Bible and Religion* over the last twelve years.

The general plan of the volume remains unchanged and the description given in the 1946 review indicated above need not be repeated here. The book has been increased by about 150 pages over the first edition. The significant thing is that nothing of importance since 1946 has escaped attention: the new archaeological results concerning prehistoric sites, the recently discovered law codes (Eshnunna, etc.), new Palestinian excavations (Hazor, Gibeon, Dibon, Jericho, to mention only a few), the excavations at San Pietro in the Vatican, and, of course, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Chenoboskion papyri. All this material is treated in an interesting as well as accurate fashion. The book is a delight to read and it gives a battery of references in the footnotes which enable the serious reader to control the important sources.

Finegan's judgment on the Dead Sea Scrolls is admirably balanced: they "provide important information on a part of the background of early Christianity." He gives several of the well-known examples of contacts between Qumran and Christianity, without any exaggerations. At the end of the book a new appendix is added, "the principles of the calendar and the problems of biblical chronology." This will be particularly useful for those who wish to find their way through the maze of calendar problems that beset the ancient world. In future printings, "or Ur" should read "of Ur" (p. 29) and *CBC* should read *CBQ* (p. 278). This work deserves a hearty recommendation to all readers whose interests touch on the Israelite and Christian world of thought.

ROLAND E. MURPHY

*The Catholic University of America*

*Hellenistic Culture. Fusion and Diffusion.* By Moses Hadas. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1959. Pp. vi, 324. $6.00.)

With a good index and twenty-four pages of notes at the end of the volume, this book traces out many of the lines of fusion and diffusion that have not been well indicated before. The point of view, in some places, is unique and the author's wide knowledge of both classical and Jewish literature is rare. There are many instances in which he insists that an influence usually regarded as Jewish was actually an example of Greek influence upon Jewish thought and literature, although the diffusion may have come through Jewish writings. The general viewpoint is of great importance and one may disagree sharply with some of the basic assumptions. In the first place, Mr. Hadas is concerned largely with tracing literary influences and, frequently, attaches much greater importance to these, as historical influences, than most historians would allow, e.g., the fact that the Book of Job uses the form and style of the *diatribe,* does not in itself prove any greater historical influence than has long been known to exist

during the Hellenistic Age. Some of the literary influences are quite tenuous and problematical, and some of the assumptions of motivation and intent are fantastic. One can point here to his elucidation of the Aeneid and the Fourth Eclogue.

Nowhere does the author indicate a sufficient understanding of Christianity, and although he is well grounded in Judaism he adopts, throughout the book, a positivistic approach to religion which was common fifty years ago but seems out of date at the present time. His preconceptions appear most inadequate in his chapter on "Authority and Law." The recurring phrases "tool of priests," "manipulation of priests," etc., indicate a superficial knowledge of the development of governmental institutions. That the priests were frequently the originators and guardians of culture, is nowhere admitted. Moreover, the rambling and quite shallow review of the origin and development of government in the Near East, India, and China is designed to identify religion as the chief instrument of political totalitarianism. How this theory would fare in explaining the modern varieties which are, for the most part, hostile to religion, is a question that frequently comes to the reader's mind. The chapters on religion, law, and government aside, there are many chapters on literary influences which are quite good and which furnish some new and refreshing viewpoints on the period.

THOMAS A. BRADY

*University of Missouri*

*A History of Science. Hellenistic Science and Culture in the Last Three Centuries B.C.* By George Sarton. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xxvi, 554. $11.00.)

The general scope of Sarton's *A History of Science* was described in the review of Volume I [REVIEW, XXIX (January, 1954), 442-444]. After a long and influential life as a teacher and productive scholar, George Sarton died on March 22, 1956. He had completed Volume II before his death, but the task of final editing was carried out by I. Bernard Cohen with the help of Dr. Edward Grant. Cohen states in his foreword that the Harvard University Press plans to continue the work, which, as planned by Sarton, was to comprise eight or nine volumes.

Volume II covers the golden age of Greek science and the first stages of its decline. It is divided into two parts: Part One, The Third Century, Chapters I-XIV (pp. 3-215); Part Two, the Last Two Centuries, Chapters XV-XXVIII (pp. 219-525). Chapter XXIX (pp. 526-527) is called a "conclusion," but it is better to describe it as a short but excellent summary. The general bibliography (p. 528) is limited to a few basic works. However, the author refers throughout to the bibliography to be

found in his *Introduction to the History of Science*, in *Isis*, and elsewhere, and he cites a considerable number of books and articles in his footnotes. The volume is furnished with 112 plates and figures. As in Volume I, many of the illustrations are reproductions of the title pages or first pages of the earliest printed editions of Greek scientific works. The index (pp. 528-554) is good, but a greater fullness on the subject matter side could be desired.

The new volume gives a comprehensive, authoritative, and readable account of Hellenistic science, including its Roman phase. The impact of Hellenistic thought and science in the East from Egypt to India is formally emphasized throughout. As in Volume I, the author has taken science in a very broad sense including, however briefly, even arts and letters in his scope. He thus covers scholarship in the humanistic disciplines as well as science and technology as ordinarily understood. This broadness of scope is as welcome as it is necessary, because the typical Hellenistic scientist—e.g., Eratosthenes—was a philologist, scientist, and a creative writer of prose and poetry. The interrelations of science and religion are systematically dealt with, and the ultimate triumph of the Orient in religion is described in some detail. Special attention is called to the excellent section on astrology and its role in the Hellenistic Age and later (pp. 164-169), and to Orientalism in the last three centuries B.C. (pp. 196-214, and 520-525).

A few critical observations are in order. While Sarton's standard of accuracy is generally high and his evaluations usually objective, there are occasional slips, and, especially, certain value judgments are open to challenge. As an avowed rationalist he consistently regarded the notion of divine revelation as irrational, but this attitude never prevented him from recognizing the importance of religion and from treating religion as a vital phenomenon in the history of civilization. He accepts the testimony of the "Letter of Aristeas" to the effect that the Septuagint translation "was begun at the initiative of Demetrius of Phaleron and at the request of Ptolemaios II Philadelphos." A critical evaluation of the "Letter of Aristeas" does not favor this position. It seems certain that the initiative was actually taken by the Greek-speaking Jews themselves to serve their own religious needs. Sarton's old prejudice against Plato persists. In treating Posidonius of Apamea (p. 255) he says that, "he might have become a great man of science like Aristotle and Eratosthenes, but his scientific integrity was vitiated by Platonic tendencies and by the mysticism inherent in the Stoa." The significance of Posidonius is also minimized in harsh terms in a later passage (p. 442). Incensed at the thought that contemporaries called him "the new Aristotle," Sarton adds the delightful footnote: "This reminds us of the Arabic title *Aristū-al-Zamān*, 'the

Aristotle of his time,' many times awarded to individuals unworthy of it, say university presidents."

In spite of minor criticisms, Sarton's last book deserves to be recommended as a truly outstanding contribution. It is not only a work to be consulted, but one that is to be read with pleasure.

MARTIN R. P. MCGUIRE

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*A History of Magic and Experimental Science.* Volumes VII and VIII. *The Seventeenth Century.* By Lynn Thorndike. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1958. Pp. x, 695; viii, 808. $10.00 per volume.)

With the forty chapters of these two volumes on the seventeenth century Lynn Thorndike concludes his monumental history of magic and experimental science—a labor of fifty years. The two volumes deal with some 1,600 authors and scholars as compared with 1,200 in the volume on the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (VIII, 635). As in previous volumes, the treatment is partly by men and partly by subjects, sometimes topical, sometimes chronological. It has still been necessary to use manuscript material, but most of the sources are in print. Professor Thorndike has searched through this literary *tohu vabohu* and patiently dug out the scientific contribution along with numerous samplings of the pseudo-scientific elucubrations. One can appreciate his distress as he reached Robert Boyle's writings with "their over-elaborate and confusing subdivision into books, parts, essays, discourses, sections, titles, chapters, observations, experiments, and what-not" (VIII, 172). He carefully indicates the editions of works and the location of rare library copies. This review can mention only a few of what seem to be the more important names. The index (167 pages) directs the reader to every "scientific" name of the period and to everything the scientist or magician worked with from absinth to gravity to moon-grease to zoophyte.

The long series of great names begins with Kepler and Galileo. The former thought, along with many of his contemporaries, that the world had been asleep for 1,000 years since the fall of Rome, and that the period from 1450 to 1600 had produced so much that it was folly to believe greater things could be looked for in the next 200 years. Actually he used mediaeval science himself. Notwithstanding his devotion to astrology, he made a truly great contribution to the progress of science in his *New Astronomy.* Galileo dabbled in astrology in his earlier years and had wrong notions about comets and tides, but his *Dialogues Concerning Two New Sciences* "more than any other single book, marks the advent of modern experimental method." He, too, failed to give credit to mediaeval predeces-

sors, which provokes Thorndike to write: "Most modern physicists do not repeat Galileo's mistake of studying only ancient science and neglecting mediaeval activity in physics, for the simple reason that they do not pay any attention to the history of science." The condemnation of Galileo in 1616 is given only a passing reference. Francis Bacon receives sharp treatment. By making a virtue of not citing authorities he avoided any mention of the sources of his ideas. His chief defect as a scientist was "his total disregard of mathematical method. . . . He did not think straight." His tendency to explain natural phenomena by the action of corporeal spirits had widespread influence to the detriment of science.

Hundreds of names appear—over fifty in one chapter—with an analysis of the writings of each author, here and there a word of approval for what is truly scientific, or gentle irony for what is not. The Jesuits have more than their share of scholarly writers in the period, most of them revealing their traditional interest in astronomy, tainted often enough with astrology. There are Franciscans in number, Dominicans, Augustinians, Benedictines, and Barnabites, some of them with very strange ideas, indeed. Depressing chapters deal with astrology, which defied papal decrees against it as well as the repudiation of scientists and continued to flourish by various subterfuges. Alchemy never ceased to thrive. War was declared against the traditional philosophy of the schools and "the occult and the marvelous were sometimes attacked as its allies, sometimes were courted as possible allies of the new trend" (VII, 467). The national academies and scientific societies of the time were interested in "the odd and curious, the astounding and marvelous, the unnatural and the abnormal" (VIII, 234). A chapter shows the great interest in the occult at German universities, but it is probably correct to say that most of the scholars were critical rather than credulous concerning these matters.

On the good side of the ledger William Harvey gets praise for his discovery of the circulation of the blood and his emphasis on the need of comparative anatomy. Descartes founded analytical geometry, but he had more faith in reason and in mathematics than he did in experimentation. His theory of the physical universe "was more nearly right than anything before." Though he did not believe in alchemy and astrology, he accented some unscientific beliefs from the past. The study of physics received great impetus from the many scientific discoveries of Newton. His discovery of the law of gravitation is whittled down somewhat in favor of predecessors. Considerable attention is paid to Newton's million words left unpublished, which reveal him as an alchemist and committed to some unscientific theories in explanation of the world around him. But against a seventeenth-century skepticism about achieving scientific certainty he re-established

faith in the regularity of the movements of the heavenly bodies and the validity of natural science. There was some advancement in technology, though labor-saving machines were not promoted. Thorndike notes as a pleasing feature that the word *machina* took on the meaning of machinery in general instead of infernal machine, which it had meant since the invention of gunpowder.

Legendary zoology was being discarded little by little as systematic biology got under way. Botanical information was greatly enlarged by the discovery of plants in the East and West Indies. Pharmacopoeias were still greatly tinged with the occult and magic, but they were subjected to severe criticism and many remedies were rejected. Chemistry made progress away from alchemy and magic, but it remained naive and was not developed into a unified science. Medicine is treated in many places throughout the two volumes. Despite the claims of medical authors to progress, their science stagnated in the traditions of the past. Let one example out of scores suffice: Robert Boyle tells of an old woman who lost the sight of one eye by cataract and "staved off cataract in the second eye by taking on an empty stomach and crushed in white wine first five millepedes, the next day ten, the third day fifteen, and so on up to fifty or sixty" (VIII, 198).

In the century Newton's published works had done much to separate physical from occult science. Great progress was made through intensive observation and the use of experimental method. It is true that experimentation bred skepticism because of the uncertainty and insufficiency of its method. "Not only might persons with the best of intentions arrive at diametrically opposite conclusions as a consequence of performing identical experiments, but either or both of them might be right in one of his conclusions and wrong in another. We must not therefore be too critical of their contemporaries who were slow to accept experimentation which seemed to them contrary both to authorities and to reason" (VII, 431). But the experimental method had been left free to go its way and it was proving itself.

The volumes are handsomely printed by Mouton and Company of The Hague. They are remarkably free of typographical errors. An r is missing in "preferring" and "occurred" (VII, 57; VIII, 310) and "Rosskässer" (VIII, 553) should read "Rosskäfer." "Incantations" should presumably be substituted for "devotions" (VII, 6). The preface of Volume VII gives a long list of Professor Thorndike's articles which add to and revise certain portions of his first four volumes. May his admirable studies long continue to pour forth.

ALOYSIUS K. ZIEGLER

*The Catholic University of America*

*Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada.* By Arthur R. M. Lower. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., Inc. 1959. Pp. xxiv, 475. $7.50.)

A few years ago Professor Lower published a short general history of Canada under the title *Colony to Nation.* This was an interesting, and on some matters, a mildly provocative account of economic, political, and constitutional development, with some emphasis on Canada's relationship with Great Britain and her changing status in the Commonwealth. This new book on social history has evidently been planned as a companion volume. Social history is defined in terms which, as far as possible, exclude politics and economics; and the reader is frequently reminded that points which are omitted here, or which are given only passing notice, have been discussed at length in the author's earlier work. The plan is to trace the growth of a Canadian community, with its distinctive way of life, from the first simple beginnings to the complex and somewhat heterogeneous society which now exists. The nucleus in which the process begins is the trading post, on the Atlantic seaboard, the St. Lawrence, or the Pacific Coast. In successive chapters on each of the several regions which eventually coalesced to form the dominion, Professor Lower explains the evolution through the several stages of settlement, colony, and province to consciously united nation. He disregards the popular concept of "progress," which, as he rightly observes, too often means little more than change to "the newer and the bigger."

The emphasis, at least as suggested in the introduction, is on the influence of environment on the lives of the Canadian pioneers and their successors, and hence on the structure and character of the society they have built. But the word must be interpreted broadly. Other influences, in particular the heritage of ideas and ideals, of customs and traditions, of religious animosities and the like, which the settlers brought with them from the old world, have been no less important than the physical environment in which they found themselves. Substantial portions of the book, and those not always the most successful, are given to random discussion of these intangible influences. There are elements in this complex heritage which Professor Lower clearly does not like; and at certain points in his narrative objective historical analysis gives place to simple and forthright expression of a particular point of view. The criticism is often pungent, and not seldom merited, but too frequent reiteration becomes a little tedious.

The author is at his best in the earlier parts of this history. He writes with insight and understanding of the forces which shaped the French community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and on the first tentative mingling of the two races in the years after the British conquest. There are good chapters on the struggle of the 1830's and 1840's which

did so much to determine the future relations of the two groups, and on the several communities which united, not without misgivings, to form the federation in 1867. In the later chapters the narrative becomes more loose and discursive, and the subjective approach appears rather too obviously. Professor Lower describes his work as experimental, and there is a good deal in it that is tentative and on which the experts will not agree. But it is the most comprehensive survey of the subject that has been attempted. The evidence has been drawn from a very wide range of sources; some of it is unusual, some of it appears a little trivial. But it has been used with skill to produce a narrative that will be read with interest by many people, and that should help to direct attention to a field of Canadian history to which not much consideration has previously been given.

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## MEDIAEVAL

*Medieval Poor Law. A Sketch of Canonical Theory and Its Application in England.* By Brian Tierney. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. x, 169. $4.00.)

This book is the expansion of a group of lectures delivered in 1956 at the School of Social Welfare of the University of California at Los Angeles. It has been written with such clarity and grace that no one could be confused or fail to be attracted by it. What it has to say is interesting, important, and generally convincing.

Tierney shows that poor relief, the theories behind it, and the law enforcing it did not first attract attention in the sixteenth century, but rather that they were the subject of realistic, but constructively imaginative, canonistic thought and legislation, particularly in the thirteenth century. He argues that canon law was, in context, public law and that as poor law it was normally effective, at least in his sample country, England, before economic society critically changed structure and pace in the fourteenth century. He believes that the failure of historians like Ashley and the Webbs to understand this is in part due to their inability to see that the effectiveness and appropriateness of any kind of poor relief depend upon the structure of the society to which it is administered, in part due to the difference between mediaeval and nineteenth-century theories of property, poverty, and charity. This difference is suggested by two of the book's canonistic quotations: in his gloss (1215-1217) on the *Decretum*, Joannes Teutonicus wrote, "In case of doubt it is better to do too much than to do nothing at all"; in his gloss (1294-1303) on the *Sext*, Joannes

Andreae wrote, "Poverty is not a kind of crime." But the charity that these ideas encouraged was not, or was not intended to be, indiscriminate. It was rigorously examined in terms of the donor, the act, and the recipient.

In the process of establishing the main points of his argument, Tierney quietly, unpretentiously, does much more. His chapter on property is a little masterpiece. Excerpts from tough, intractable canonistic sources lie here limpid and seemingly effortlessly arranged, helping to explain much that is hardest to understand about mediaeval ideas of ownership. Individual canonists appear throughout the book, as they did in Tierney's *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory,* as recognizable individual intelligences. Joannes Teutonicus is the particular success of this book. Partly because of these successfully established individual canonists, partly because of the obvious interest of his subject, Tierney is able painlessly to expose the canonists' difficult way of expressing their thought. He is also able to insert, in a text that is generally more concerned with theory than with its application, casual but persistent advertisements for the study of intellectual history, of "these apparently dead thoughts which we laboriously resuscitate." In this connection he pays particular attention to the ordinary glosses, those, like Joannes Teutonicus on the *Decretum* and Joannes Andreae on the *Sext,* normally used in the schools, "because they reflect the currents of thought most commonly accepted among the canonists."

This talk of the "commonly accepted" is connected with a group of recurring ideas that give part of its tone to Tierney's work. He is interested in an "environment" in which things can be said to be "normal" and in which there is a sort of harmony of ideas, like that between similar ideas in canon law and theology or that between the concept of ownership of church property and assumptions about lay tenure. There is no coarse talk of climates of opinion, but there are instructive examples of re-thought patristic precepts and bits of Roman law. Perhaps, as a corollary to this view of successive coherent ages there is in the book an occasional, unfortunate suggestion of an assumed organic growth and decay of mediaeval intellect and morality. The decay of the fifteenth century is unconvincingly black. And it is hard to believe in the pre-twelfth century "long age of chaos," the "bleak and brutal time," in a book even partly about England. Momentarily, perhaps, for the sake of an audience that it assumed must have a dark age and a reawakening, the very sophisticated face of this book seems to assume a mask and talk of early "general degradation." But this is an almost unique exception. In general Tierney shows great respect for his audience. He writes clearly enough so that he might always be understood by the non-mediaevalists for whom the lectures were intended; but he takes the intelligent students of another discipline into the serious thought and recent work of his own. It is, perhaps, for this rather than for

its specific information that the book will prove most valuable to other mediaevalists. Tierney teaches us all, if such things can be taught and learned, how a mediaevalist can clearly and beautifully, without sacrificing anything of scholarly integrity, expose the matter of his learning about the Middle Ages to a non-specialist audience.

ROBERT BRENTANO

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*The Medieval Theories of the Just Price. Romanists, Canonists, and Theologians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries.* By John W. Baldwin. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society. 1959. Pp. 92. $2.00.)

This short treatise is all that a good monograph should be: specialized in scope, soundly documented, moderate and balanced in its conclusions, and a valuable contribution to the history of its subject. The period covered is 1100-1265, a period generally neglected by students of the history of economic theory or of economic ethics. The only similarly intensive study of a related, but distinct, topic in this period is McLaughlin's "The Teachings of the Canonists on Usury" in *Mediaeval Studies* (Volumes I-II), an excellent work, to which this is a suitable companion. Schaub's, *Der Kampf gegen den Zinswucher, ungerechten Preis und unlautern Handel im Mittelalter von Karl dem Grossen bis Papst Alexander III,* has a brief survey of the same period based on a much narrower sampling of authorities. Schachtschabel's, *Der gerechte Preis,* skips from a consideration of the classic writers on the Roman law to Aquinas. The best book on mediaeval notions of the just price up to now has been Edmund Schreiber's *Die volkswirtschaftlichen Anschauungen der Scholastik seit Thomas v. Aquin.* The present work leads up to the point where Schreiber begins and meets a need for a thorough and comprehensive study of the writers who preceded Thomas Aquinas. Although such modern works as Joseph Schumpeter's *History of Economic Analysis* now give a clear picture of the mediaeval idea of the just price, a great amount of misconception has prevailed in the last thirty years. The most celebrated exponent of a labor theory of value in the Middle Ages is still one of the most widely read of economic historians, R. H. Tawney. His appealing epigram in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* that, "The last of the schoolmen was Karl Marx" (p. 49), reflects a misconception that must be widely held. It is difficult to realize how this labor theory of value could have been attributed to the scholastics by reputable historians. Schreiber's study in 1913 had amply demonstrated that a labor theory of value did not exist in Aquinas or his scholastic successors. Yet, apparent academic

respectability was given to this position by the laborious and detailed study of Selma Hagenauer's, *Das "justum pretium" bei Thomas Aquinas, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der objektiven Werttheorie*. Mr. Baldwin's study, among its other merits, demonstrates the fallaciousness of the Hagenauer view.

Much of the difficulty caused by writers like Tawney and Hagenauer has been due to an undiscriminating use of all the writings of Thomas Aquinas. It is apparent that many times in his *Commentary on the Nichomachean Ethics* of Aristotle, he is merely explaining the text and by no means giving his own views on the subject. Yet the *Commentary* has been the chief reliance of supporters of the labor-value theory, and even Baldwin finds it necessary to examine the *Commentary* at some length. It might be hoped that future discussions of the subject will not have to attach such importance to a work that is largely an explication of Aristotelian theory. When one turns, then, to Aquinas' presentation of his own views, much of the meat of his reasoning is to be found not in the body of an article in the *Summa*, but in his answers to objections. It is in these answers to objections that his mind, stretched to the resolution of a difficulty, often achieves the fullest exploration of a subject. It is precisely in such an answer to an objection that what Baldwin rightly calls his "positive endorsement" of the market price is made (*Summa Theologica*, Q. 77, a. 3, ad 4). While Baldwin's clarification of Aquinas on the just price is of particular value in refuting the Hagenauer study, it is not merely this analysis which establishes what the just price must have meant to scholastic tradition. The whole of Baldwin's work shows that the just price as it was understood by commentators on the Roman law, by the canonists, and by the theologians was the equivalent of the current or market price.

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*The University of Toulouse in the Middle Ages. Its Origins and Growth to 1500 A.D.* By Cyril E. Smith. (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 244. $7.00.)

The present volume is only the first part of a thorough study on the history of the University of Toulouse, an institution that owed its foundations to the Treaty of Paris between Raymond VII and Louis IX in 1229, and its confirmation to Gregory IX in 1233. A good chapter on the background of the foundation, on the schools of Toulouse preceding this foundation, and on the heretic movements in southern France is followed by an analysis of the political and administrative life of the university and of its relation to the monastic orders and to the *Parlement*. In this chapter,

with regard to the Faculty of Theology which was so important in the first years of the foundation, use should have been made of C. Thouzellier's study on the relation of the papacy to the southern universities in France, "La Papauté et les Universités provinciales en France dans la première moitié du XIII[e] siècle," *Études mediévales offertes à M. le Doyen Augustin Fliche de l'Institut,* Montpellier, s.l.,s.d. [1952], 187-211 (also reprint).

Although in general the author has mastered the vast amount of material he so carefully collected, the chapter on the Toulouse colleges could have been written with greater clarity. E.g., one can hardly guess that on pages 112-113 the author is speaking of the College of Saint-Martial. P. Gérard's study on "Les origines du Collège Saint Bernard de Toulouse (vers 1150-1335)," *Annales du Midi,* LXIX (1957), 189-205, should have also been mentioned in this chapter. The final chapter, entitled "Bibliographic Essay," is a very useful evaluation of the printed, manuscript, and archival source material relating to the history of the University of Toulouse, founded on papal and royal authority. In the text and bibliography titles of French books are sometimes written with English spellings; e.g., historians should be corrected to histori*ens* (pp. 2, 239); organization to organi*sation* (pp. 219, 237); ordonances to ordo*nnances* (pp. 113- 238); guerre de cents ans to guerre de *cent* ans (pp. 121, 166, and 234). Certain references should also be corrected, e.g., the page number in Fournier's *Statuts* is not 818 but 848 (p. 203, N. 74); in Auvray's *Registres de Grégoire IX* read p. 922 not p. 932 (p. 118, N. 100), and not Paul II but Pius II (p. 202). This volume makes us look forward with eagerness to the second part which will deal with the masters and students of the mediaeval University of Toulouse.

ASTRIK L. GABRIEL

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## MODERN EUROPE

*France: A Modern History.* By Albert Guérard. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1959. Pp. xxvii, 563. $8.75.)

Professor Guérard's avowed objective in this book is to write the biography of a nation. "Nation" he interprets as being primarily a sentiment. France, he declares, is more than a race, a territory, a government, or even a civilization: it is a consciousness. Thus the reader (or at least this one) is led to expect something like Salvador de Madariaga's highly impressionistic *Spain, A Modern History:* part history, part sociology, part anthropology. This is not what he gets. He gets a 518-page survey of

French history from the Cro-Magnons to De Gaulle. Though the author states that "Perhaps in future ages history will become more realistic simply by eliminating the political side altogether" (p. 349), his own book is ninety-five per cent straightforward political history.

The book itself is highly opinionated. The author has a galaxy of heroes of whom Henry IV, Napoleon III, and De Gaulle shine the most brightly. Lyautey, Leon Blum, and Louis XIV are somewhat lesser luminaries but still lustrous compared to some more conventional "great men." Richelieu is passed off as "the first of the terrorists and the first of the levellers" (p. 167); Mazarin as an "excellent uncle" (p. 171); and Napoleon I as a great parvenu and the prototype of Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin. Before he gets to the twentieth century the author's interpretation might be termed "straight French Republican." The philosophes and their plans are treated sympathetically. The French Revolution of 1789 was a "great fight for freedom and justice" (p. 290). The expected shots are fired at Burke, conservatives (pp. 234, 241), and the "leaden Metternichian system" (p. 282). The Catholics are called unreasonable because they thought the lay educational system of the Third Republic "hostile" when it was only "not specifically Catholic" (p. 341)—even though Guérard himself describes all the militant Republicans as anti-clerical.

When it comes to interpreting the twentieth century the author's ideological consistency is less clear. Refreshingly, he recognizes that Clemenceau's ideas at Versailles were much more sensible than Wilson's. He acknowledges that "Hitler could not have had more effective agents" (p. 427) than the English and American "liberals" who struck their breasts and intoned *mea culpa* when they thought or wrote of the Treaty of Versailles. Then, perplexingly, he dusts off the moth-eaten idol of the left, the contention that the failure of the English and French governments of the 1930's to resist fascism was due to financial interest and class feeling. ("It was plain that both Republican Spain and Czechoslovakia had been abandoned because they refused to consider Russia as an enemy," p. 415.) This is really beating a dead horse or, more correctly, one that never lived. The general stupidity of the political right in the 1930's has long been obvious, but it was no more flagrant than that of the left and with both groups the dread of war itself had more to do with appeasement than class feeling.

On other subjects Professor Guérard is consistently anti-English save when Britain is liquidating its empire; he sides with France in all its post-1945 disagreements with the United States; he warns that a revived and rearmed Germany will most likely accept bids from both East and West; and he shows a higher regard for popular front ideas than past attempts to co-operate with Communists would seem to justify. On a broader sub-

ject he is profoundly (and who shall say unjustifiably?) pessimistic, repeatedly alluding to the confusion and barbarism of our time and comparing it with the more civilized world of a century or two ago. (Cf. especially pp. 248, 255, 453.)

One of the most attractive features of the work is its wealth of pungent characterizations and summaries. Among scores the following are representative: 1) "The Church encouraged the freeing of serfs, except her own, who, since they belonged to God, had no cause to complain" (p. 75); Charles VII: "the Holy Chrism had made a king of him, but not a man" (p. 112); Louis XI: he "did not keep *all* his prisoners in cramped iron cages" (p. 118); Henry IV: he "married another bag of Medici gold" (p. 159); the Estates-General of 1614: "The three orders, unequally privileged, but equally indifferent to the welfare of the people . . ." (p. 164); Robespierre: "the Torquemada of Democracy" (p. 255); the Directory: "a grease spot in French history" (p. 260); the Holy Alliance: it was "dedicated to the glory of God and the oppression of the people" (p. 282); Louis Philippe: "king by the grace of the barricades" (p. 291); Jules Grevy: "the next best thing to zero" (p. 333); Moroccan rebels: they "proved the uprightness of their cause by mutilating women and children, sacking the hospital, and murdering patients in their beds" (p. 487).

On the mechanical side the book has notes at the back, a good sixteen-page bibliographical essay, an exceptionally full index, and an excellent ten-page introduction replete with insights and mellow observations about the human condition and the nature of history. Altogether, Guérard's *History of France* is sprightly and competent, albeit strongly opinionated. If all the other volumes in the University of Michigan's History of the Modern World series are as good as this one the undertaking will be a distinct success.

BERNARD NORLING

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*John Maitland of Thirlestane and the Foundation of the Stewart Despotism in Scotland.* By Maurice Lee, Jr. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xi, 314. $6.00.)

In emphasizing the role of administration, historians of British political life and constitutional development in the past generation have clarified the picture painted by their predecessors. What Tout did for the Middle Ages and Elton for Thomas Cromwell have becomes guides for a host of Ph.D. dissertations and monographs from aspiring instructors and junior professors. Maurice Lee of Princeton University makes his contribution in Scottish history during the reign of King James VI in the late sixteenth

century. While, unfortunately, there is apparently little substantial research material in Scottish administrative records for Lee to explore, he has done an able job in presenting the work of James' chancellor through the use not only of available administrative documents, but also of the details of political history. The reader finds himself, perhaps, overly involved in a series of complex feuds among too many secondary figures, but it is the price to be paid for as complete and objective account as possible of Maitland's place in history.

That the ministers of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century monarchs everywhere in Europe busied themselves in reducing the power of lawless nobles to increase the power of their lords and thus contributed to the rise of the modern state has been a commonplace as long as history has been taught to freshmen. Yet a great deal remains to be done to show just what were the concepts of royal and state power in the early modern period, and what was the precise nature of that power. Lee has made a fine contribution in helping to explain the Scottish situation. The task of governing was heartbreaking for a chancellor in poverty-stricken, faction-ridden, clannish Scotland, where the king needed constant subsidies from England, where Presbyterian churchmen in their near republicanism frequently lectured the monarch, and where in the Highlands and in many other parts of the country noblemen ignored royal authority. Yet by the time of his death in 1595 Maitland had, with the aid of England, the support of the kirk, of the lesser gentry, and of certain loyal noblemen, established for the weak Stewarts a strong central government.

Maitland came from an old but not especially wealthy family of lairds. His father, Sir Richard, like his son John, had a typically humanist background. Trained in the law, he was as well a bit of a poet. A surviving patriotic poem shows the motivation behind the family—hostility to foreigners and a desire for national unity. Such sentiments reflect, of course, an old tradition in the Italian renaissance—a tradition that effected courts everywhere, even in rugged Scotland. It was patriotism of this sort, combined with Presbyterian hostility against Catholic or presumed-Catholic noblemen, that helped central authority. And James himself was by no means an unfit master. Lazy and unbecoming, still he was a crafty politician, as his support for his chancellor demonstrates. The king maintained his throne, kept a certain control over the church, preserved some order in the border lands, and made all Scotland aware there was significance in royal government. Much of this is owing to John Maitland, a fit subject for this fit biography.

FRANKLIN A. WALKER

*Loyola University*
*Chicago*

*Maria Stuart. Ihr Leben als Königin und Frau.* By Gerda Doublier. (Graz-Köln: Hermann Bohlaus Nachf. 1959. Pp. 318. DM 16.50.)

Until the innocence of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the murder of her husband, Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, father of James VI of Scotland (James I of England), has been fully established despite the incriminating insinuations of the Casket Letters (p. 143) of which, however, the original French no longer exists (destroyed [?] by her son, James VI, p. 143), and until Mary's connection with the Babington Plot (p. 236) to dethrone and murder Elizabeth have been convincingly eliminated, it will be impossible, as the author admits, to give a just, psychological, and religious evaluation of one of the most beautiful, highly titled, and "best educated women of her century."

Queen of Scotland the very day she was born (her father James V died six days before her birth), Queen of France, and rightful heir to the throne of England after Henry's children, Mary of Scots was one of the most noble of women. Daughter of James V of Scotland and Mary Guise of the House of Lorraine, wife of Frances II of France, mother of James VI of Scotland, she might well, like her mother-in-law, Catherine de Medici, have become one of the most influential women of the sixteenth century, had not political intrigues and religious bigotry, to which she was unequal, intervened. Instead, bereft of her throne, betrayed by her half-brother, and executed in an English prison (Fotheringay) at the hands of her cousin Elizabeth, Mary died, as many believe, a martyr's death for the Catholic faith.

The present biography—one of the first thoroughly documented in German—deserves special credit. The author has worked—as far as they were available—from authentic sources: letters, writings, and poems of Mary; and from the best of modern literature. For the first time she gives a faithful translation of the twelve (rather compromising, if authentic) sonnets of Mary, without which the author contends a true psychological study of Mary is impossible. She depicts the noble traits of Mary as a queen, without minimizing her defects as a woman.

The book is divided into three parts: Mary's youth in France; her role as Queen of Scotland; her imprisonment in England. The author gives an excellent four-page list of sources and literature which she has faithfully used; she furnishes the reader as well with a good, workable index of persons, genealogical tables of the royalty of Mary's time, and reproductions of sixteen paintings of Mary Stuart and her family, to be found in European museums. The book will undoubtedly enjoy a lasting place in historical literature of the sixteenth century.

RAPHAEL M. HUBER

*St. Anthony-on-Hudson*
*Rensselaer*

## UNITED STATES

*Frontier America: The Story of the Westward Movement.* By Thomas D. Clark. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1959. Pp. xi, 832. $10.00.)

Anyone who attempts to survey the history of the American frontier from the middle of the eighteenth century to the close of the nineteenth century sets a formidable task for himself. He must be a master of facts, interpretation, organization, and narration. Since Paxson, Riegel, Dan E. Clark, and Billington have already contributed surveys of frontier history —and have drawn plaudits for their work—anyone who would follow in their footsteps assumes an added responsibility. He must have something more to contribute. Professor Clark acquits himself creditably on all counts. *Frontier America* is readable. The first half follows a chronological pattern; the second half is organized topically. The first half bespeaks the author's enthusiasm for his subject, a zest that seems to fade when he devotes himself to the trans-Mississippi West. Clark is no apostle of Frederick Jackon Turner. "No particular claims are made," he writes, "that the general process of American expansion nurtured and matured the American frontier process" (p. v). The author further adds:

> The safest general observation to be made about American history is that it is variegated, erratic, colorful and spacious. It combines the broad interpretations of both human and national history with the most fragmentary details of local history. In its broader meaning the history of the frontier is the account of the molding of people of diverse origins and motives into a fairly homogeneous national group. In its more localized implications, it is the story of thousands of individuals, tiny communities, counties, towns, and sections making primitive beginnings and growing into mature and permanent political, economic, and social institutions (p. 4).

The first half of this work is long on detail. Sometimes too many names are listed in a series—as if the author were trying to mention every individual who took part in the westward movement. In discussing the country of the upper Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers, e.g., Professor Clark writes: "Among the first hunting parties of this period was one of eighteen men among whom were Elisha Walden, Henry Scaggs, William and John Blevin, Charles Cox, William Pittman, William Harrelson, and a man named Newman" (p. 93). Several pages later we find: "William Christian became county surveyor, and his deputies were William Russell, Daniel Smith, Robert and William Preston, Robert Doak, and James Douglas" (p. 97). The trans-Mississippi West receives less detailed treatment. The author, e.g., devotes four pages to the drafting of the constitution of the State of Kentucky, while he gives the California constitution two sentences; nor is there any mention of the constitutional conventions

of New Mexico and Arizona. The War of 1812 takes twenty-eight pages of text, the mining frontier only eighteen. The Black Hills gold rush is disposed of in four sentences, and there is no mention of the transcontinental railroad surveys of the 1850's nor of the Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1862.

Several minor errors of fact have been noticed. Thirty-eight, not thirty-two, were hanged at Mankato as a result of the Sioux uprising of 1862 (p. 699). Manypeny, not Moneypenny wrote *Our Indian Wards* (p. 795). The missions between the Sabine River and the Rio Grande were almost exclusively Franciscan, not Jesuit and Dominican (p. 398). The Reverend John Carroll never served as vicar-general of the Vicar Apostolic of the London District nor did he ever visit the Catholic settlers in Kentucky (p. 228). George A. Custer is a general on one page (p. 709) and a colonel on the next (p. 710). Reno's command was saved by Sitting Bull's decision to call it a day, not by Benteen's heroics (p. 713). Minnesotans may disagree with Clark that their state "had a long territorial period before it was admitted to the Union on May 12, 1858" (p. 602). The Topeka Constitution was ratified on December 15, 1855, not in 1856 (p. 617). All in all, however, errors of fact are kept at a minimum. When one considers the hundreds of thousands of facts incorporated into *Frontier America*, this reviewer contends that Professor Clark merits commendation.

It is inevitable that Clark's fine volume will be compared with Ray Billington's *Westward Expansion* (New York, 1949). Both are approximately the same length and size. Clark's treatment of the frontiers east of the Mississippi River is more detailed. Conversely, Billington devotes more space to the trans-Mississippi West. Clark's book has thirty-three illustrations, Billington's none, but the latter's volume has the superior maps. Both have excellent bibliographies. Clark emphasizes the social and cultural aspects of frontier life; Billington the sectional and institutional aspects.

Whether one wishes to use *Frontier America* for general reading, as a textbook, or as a reference work, he will find it an excellent book. And the publisher deserves high praise for a superb job of book-making.

FRANK KLEMENT

*Marquette University*

*Montana, An Uncommon Land.* By K. Ross Toole. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1959. Pp. x, 278. $4.95.)

To the writing of this new study of Montana history, Dr. Toole brought a wealth of experience in the field. He did his work for the master of arts

degree at Montana State University on Marcus Daly as a study of business in politics and his doctoral research at the University of California, Los Angeles, on a phase of the Anaconda Company's history. Formerly director of the Montana Historical Society, he now serves as director of the Museum of the City of New York.

The work obviously aims at the establishment of a new interpretation of Montana history to surpass that of Joseph Kinsey Howard, *Montana: High, Wide, and Handsome* (New Haven, 1943). Whether or not the author has succeeded in this task will remain a controversial subject among historians of the Treasure State. That a large amount of original research went into the study, is extremely doubtful. The author seems to draw heavily on his own and Merrill Burlingame's edition of a three-volume subscription work, *A History of Montana* (New York, 1957), which contains the original labors of a large number of Montana scholars. The final product represents a number of interpretations by various authorities without the achievement of an over-all synthesis.

In the presentation of factual data, a chronological scheme is effected, and that an unbalanced one. Too much time is devoted to earlier phenomena which have already been accorded satisfactory interpretation. The reader, e. g., is taken on a long, unnecessary, fifteen-page trip up the Missouri with Lewis and Clark, drawn almost entirely from Bernard De Voto's one-volume edition of the *Journals* (Cambridge, 1953). A long rehearsal of the fur trade era likewise appears without real justification. Thomas Francis Meagher, first territorial secretary and noted patriot and orator, receives the stereotyped treatment as an erratic, madcap son of Erin earlier accorded him in Robert G. Athearn's *Thomas Francis Meagher: An Irish Revolutionary in America* (Boulder, 1949). An obvious anti-Jesuit bias appears, and the total effect of that order's missionary endeavor in Montana is treated as almost completely illusory and ephemeral despite the persistence of Jesuit activity with permanent results among the Flathead, Kalispel, and Crow tribes. Even in the most telling and effective section of the book, that dealing with the Progressive Era in Montana politics, the author ignores that era's antecedents in the Populist and Socialist movements in the state.

The sharpest criticism to be made of this work, however, is its failure to place Montana in its true, far western, regional context. Other states in the region have suffered from the geographic schizophrenia and colonial type of economy which have beset the Treasure State, and other states in the region have suffered from the "impersonal malevolence" of the land (p. 256). To create the impression that Montana represents absolutely an isolated geographic, economic, and social enclave is to mislead the earnest student and general reader. The book is well written. No one can accuse

Ross Toole of lack of facility in that direction. It does synthesize many aspects of the Anaconda Company's influence on the state and those of the Progressive period. But it is poorly indexed, e.g., Father Pierre Jean De Smet, S.J., appears frequently in the text but nowhere in the index.

In fine, this study will have to undergo considerable revision and recasting before it can essay the difficult task of superseding Joseph Kinsey Howard's masterly synthesis and brilliant literary treatment.

THOMAS A. CLINCH

*Carroll College*
*Helena*

*Benjamin Harrison, Hoosier Statesman.* By Harry J. Sievers, S.J. (New York: University Publishers, Inc. 1959. Pp. xxi, 502. $6.00.)

Benjamin Harrison, twenty-third president, brought to the White House in 1889 a notable ancestral heritage. His father, John Scott Harrison, was a Whig congressman from Ohio; his grandfather, William Henry Harrison, hero of the Battle of Tippecanoe, was the ninth President of the United States, and his great grandfather, General Benjamin Harrison, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, a famous soldier of the American Revolution, and Governor of Virginia. With such a distinguished inheritance and an enviable war record, a brigadier general by the time he was thirty, Harrison developed the reputation of a patrician and of a man tried and proved. A lawyer, a gentleman, an aristocrat of the old school, he was a throwback to another century. His main distinguishing characteristics were his carefully trimmed beard and his short stature—barely five foot six. But he was always a dignified little man. The basis of his character was to be polite, honest, and dignified in everything he did. Another important ingredient in his makeup was his religion. He was a devout and praying Presbyterian—a deeply religious man.

Harry J. Sievers, S.J., has given us his second volume of a projected three-volume life of Benjamin Harrison. The first volume, published in 1952, took Harrison through the Civil War and this volume carries him to the presidency. These twenty-three years constituted the period of Harrison's maturity in which, according to the author, he served his White House apprenticeship. Father Sievers' book is a thoroughly scholarly one and is based upon sound and extensive research in manuscripts, diaries, newspapers, and monographic and periodical literature. It fills a void in two fields—that of political biography and that of American politics in the Gilded Age. It is the only scholarly study to be made of Harrison, and it completely supplants the 1888 campaign life of Harrison by General Lew Wallace which, in the words of Father Sievers, "'survived not only two

Presidential campaigns but also some seventy years as the best biography of the only Hoosier to become President of the United States" (p. 371). This is a remarkable comment, and it raises the question: why have historians and biographers for so long ignored or neglected Harrison? True, his papers were closed to students for many years, but a much more important reason for this lack of interest in Harrison is that it is not apparent that American history would have been in any essential different had he never served in the presidency. While Harrison was honest and conscientious in an age of political dishonesty, he was not much more than a dignified figurehead in the presidency. He lacked the ability to be aware of, much less understand, the great public issues of his time in office (1889-1893) and the problems that grew out of the rise of industrial capitalism and urbanism, and he could not control the Republican spoilsmen. In spite of his character, his military reputation, and his legal achievements he made little impression upon his own or later generations. Likewise in spite of the important political fact that Harrison was the first president since Grant to have a majority in both houses of Congress, at least from 1889-1891, there was practically nothing in the way of constructive legislation or new policies during his term of office. While Harrison was president American statesmanship and politics seemed to reach a new low, and the Republican Party became almost completely subservient to business and veterans' pressure groups. All this being the case, it is even more remarkable that so many years are being spent and so many volumes are being used in narrating the life of such an unrewarding figure as Harrison. Not that Harrison did not need and deserve to have his biographer, for this has been long overdue; but whether he needed to have it done in such a detailed and minute fashion is surely open to question.

Father Sievers' study shows Harrison, in these years before the presidency, to be a waver of the bloody shirt, a firm believer in hard money and high tariff, a professed friend of the freedman, a mild supporter of some railroad regulation and some civil service reform, and such a stout champion of pensions for veterans that he became known as "the soldier's legislator." While the publisher makes the claim that Harrison became president "without seeking the office," the evidence in Father Sievers' book shows Harrison to be seeking it in a vigorous and active manner, ably assisted by shrewd friends and by the significant political asset that he hailed from Indiana, one of the doubtful states in the Gilded Age that the Republicans felt they must win in order to carry national elections. But in spite of this and other valuable assets—superb family background, good Civil War record, a strong following in the politically powerful Grand Army of the Republic, few enemies, and unwavering allegiance to the Republican Party —it took a great deal of intense maneuvering on the part of ambitious

friends and eight long roll calls before the delegates at the national convention in 1888 nominated Harrison.

While Father Sievers' book is scholarly and fully documented, it has some shortcomings for political biography and for a study of American politics. Harrison and Indiana are treated too much in a political vacuum—too much in terms of what happened in Indiana and Indianapolis. The study is too local and provincial, and it is lacking in an account and understanding of the broad economic, social, and political conditions in the United States in the Gilded Age in the very years that this narrative covers. Likewise this volume has little to say about Harrison and national politics and national issues, except for his years in the senate. But many changes and significant political events swirled about Harrison in the sixteen years between the end of the war and the time he entered the senate. How did he react to them? Was he aware of them? Did he understand the importance of them? While Father Sievers does have something to say about these matters he treats them almost as an aside. Matters like Reconstruction, the liberal Republican movement, the depression years of 1873-1877, the great railroad strikes of 1877 and other labor upheavals of the 1870's, and the various political reform movements of the 1880's, occurred while Harrison was maturing and serving his White House apprenticeship. In what ways did these events condition or fail to condition Harrison? In the mind of this reviewer it would have been more fruitful and more important to examine Harrison's relationship to these matters than to deal in so minute and tedious a fashion with such relatively unimportant matters as the court room appearances of Harrison, the many platitudes of his speeches to veterans' gatherings, and patronage matters in the United States Senate.

VINCENT P. DE SANTIS

*University of Notre Dame*

*Republicans Face the Southern Question—The New Departure Years, 1877-1897.* By Vincent P. De Santis. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1959. Pp. 275. $5.00.)

This book is about the various approaches in the way of Republican political strategy in the South between the elections of Hayes and McKinley. In the preface the author declares that it was "inspired by the need to tell the story of Republican policy and strategy in the South for the years that followed the Compromise of 1877, and to clear up the misconceptions that have surrounded it." The inspiration, the author advises, came from one of Professor Vann Woodward's seminars at the Johns Hopkins—information that makes understandable the book's similarity in tone to Professor Woodward's approach to southern history. The "misconceptions"

with which the author is concerned are those that generally bear on the assumption that the existence of a one-party system in the South has been due to a historic lack of concern for the South, particularly during the "New Departure" years. Several writers are cited to show that after Hayes the party simply turned away from the South, except periodically to impound funds from the recipients of its patronage. It was this indifference that produced the "Southern Question"—the solidarity of the Democratic Party in the South and the baleful consequences of this condition on the South's economic and social health.

The author sets out to prove that the Republican Party in the two decades following Hayes' election (the "neglected" years in southern history) did, indeed, concern itself with the party's fortunes in the South. The substance of the book is a statement of what, precisely, Republican administrations did to woo votes from the southern electorate. First, there was Hayes, who tried to win the South by concrete evidences of Republican good will. He gave federal patronage to qualified men, even Democrats, and abandoned a somewhat nefarious class of carpetbaggers. He even chose a southerner for his cabinet. This approach naturally brought opposition from die-hard radicals but Hayes proved to be more than a "respectable mediocrity" in the face of such opposition. He "had such a determination and steadfastness of purpose about his plans for the South" that the radicals were bested. Even so, at the conclusion of his term, "The South was more Democratic than ever." And so it was with Hayes' successors. Garfield and Arthur tried to foster Republican interests by co-operating with southern independents, notably William Mahone, the Virginia readjuster. But such a policy did not set well with Republican regulars, conscious of their business connections, nor did it do much for the party in the South. In the election of 1882 and 1884 "the harvest . . . was small indeed." Later, attempts were made to ally the party with the Southern Alliance movement, but with the defeat of Bryan this approach naturally collapsed.

After surveying the attempts of Republican administrations from Hayes through Harrison to build some strength in the South, the conclusion is reached that "The Republicans were still without much support in the South." This rather patent conclusion is the basis on which the author clinches his thesis: the Party had not permitted the South to become Democratic by default. Republicans "had not written it off as hopeless. They fought for it . . . and while the fruits of their efforts seem small, they girded themselves for a fresh attack in the twentieth century." The research behind this work seems to have been considerable. The papers of most of the important figures have been examined and there are frequent allusions to press and periodical opinion. In fact, opinions and comment, public and private, are so frequently invoked that the book is almost a compilation of

quotations. Yet it all hangs together quite coherently and provides one with a firsthand insight into the minds of the men who thought about and shaped Republican Party policy toward the South during this era.

WILLIAM D. MILLER

*Marquette University*

*The Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and Mexico, as Affected by the Struggle for Religious Liberty in Mexico, 1925-1929.* By Sister M. Elizabeth Ann Rice, O.P. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1959. Pp. vii, 224. $2.50.)

This monograph ably extends the mounting total of basic studies gradually illuminating the story of American foreign relations in the 1920's. The author has been among the first to make careful use of the archival material in the Department of State and of the papers of Dwight W. Morrow, upon which her study is principally based. The details of her story will be amplified though its broad outlines will doubtless stand firm, with the exploitation of hitherto unused materials in Mexican archives and of presently inaccessible documents in the archives of the Church and of Church-connected organizations. Sister Elizabeth Ann's six subject-matter chapters survey (1) pre-1920 events influencing relations during the Obregón-Calles era; (2) the recognition of Obregón, 1920-1924; (3) the general ineffectiveness of Frank B. Kellogg's early relations with Plutarco Elías Calles; (4) the emergence of the religious issue as an important factor conditioning general Mexican-American relations; and (5 and 6) Morrow's efforts to alleviate the tensions thus created.

Reviewers, a queer species too often insensitive to the pangs of scholarship, are prone to chide their authors for not having done things differently. In this vein, a question might be raised as to whether, since this is obviously a volume for specialists, the materials in its first three chapters might usefully have been condensed, even though Chapter 3 adds to our knowledge of the Mexican-American scene. On the other hand, the author is to be commended for a valiant and generally successful effort to avoid the specialist's pitfall of letting preoccupation with his own narrow problem blind him to the larger perspective.

The heart of the study under review, dealing with the Morrow mission culminating in the *modus vivendi* of June 21, 1929, portrays the ambassador dealing ably backstage with a ticklish question outside his formal jurisdiction, and coming up with a viable if impermanent solution. The reviewer, having studied most of the author's sources, and admiring her meticulous marshalling of available material, would tend to emphasize the immediate utility of Morrow's work rather than its impermanence, and

to stress the significance of the whole episode (which the author recognizes) as an aspect of emergent Mexican nationalism. The only real fault he has to find with this excellent study is the appearance of two-score-odd typographical and orthographical slips—a fairly high figure.

L. ETHAN ELLIS

*Rutgers, The State University*

## LATIN AMERICA

*Aristotle and the American Indians.* By Lewis Hanke. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1959. Pp. x, 164. $3.50.)

The title of this little work is at first glance a bit shocking, then it becomes distinctly intriguing. The reader will find his curiosity rewarded, if he allows it to go to its natural term. The sub-title says that this is "a study of race prejudice in the modern world," and so it is. The main theme is the great debate of 1550-1551, at Valladolid, which found the humanitarian defender of the American Indians, Bartolomé de Las Casas, pitted against the humanist, Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda. The issue was the attitude to be taken toward the American Indian and the question of an application of the principle of a just war as preliminary to the conversion process.

Centuries before, Aristotle had taught in his *Politics* that some men are born to slavery, inferior races, perhaps, even sub-human. Such a doctrine fitted the plans which many Spaniards had in regard to the natives of the Indies. Sepúlveda became their scholarly mouthpiece and the proponent of force as the first step along the way of Christianization. Las Casas contended, vigorously, as was his wont, and at length, for a rejection of the Aristotelian view as applied to the Indians and, by the same token, for the exclusive validity of the method of peaceful conversion. This debate is an integral part of Spain's struggle for justice in the Americas, which dates back to the days of Ovando in Española and runs through the whole of the colonial story—Montesinos, Las Casas, the Laws of Burgos, the New Laws, and the Basic Law of 1573.

This work is a fine piece of scholarship, whether the informed reader always agrees with the author's views and conclusions or not. The voluminous notes bespeak many years of wide study, not only in the contemporary sources but even more in the considerable bibliography to which later writers have contributed, on the subject of Spanish-Indian relations, Las Casas, Sepúlveda, Spanish philosophical doubts and theological scruples, and other cognate topics. The study goes beyond the narrow limits of the debate itself. It is prefaced with several excellent background chapters relating to the first views on America and the Indians; it is con-

cluded with an enlightening survey of later opinions on the two men involved and their positions, as well as on Spain's long struggle for justice. Here, as in so many other instances, the Spanish pattern is basic to later problems which beset imperial nations. In a very strange yet true fashion Las Casas is one of the best refutations of the "Black Legend" which he had so large a part in helping on its way to a much too vigorous life.

JOHN FRANCIS BANNON

*Saint Louis University*

*Pan-Hispanism. Its Origin and Development to 1866.* Mark J. Van Aken. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 166. $3.50.)

A pioneer in its field, this thoroughly documented work constitutes a solid contribution to intellectual history. Dealing with the Pan-Hispanic movement, though almost exclusively from the Spanish point of view, it should prove of major interest to students of Latin American, United States, and European history and international relations. An unflattering picture of Spanish Pan-Hispanists emerges from this study. A strong undercurrent of imperial self-seeking betrayed their wooing of Spanish America and their emphasis on cultural, religious, and racial ties with the mother country. The leadership, which included several important liberals among its journalists, publicists, intellectuals, and government officials, was basically conservative and backward-looking, drawing "its chief inspiration from the bygone days of imperial rule." The first step toward reconciliation with the independent daughter republics of the western hemisphere, diplomatic recognition, came primarily in response to economic necessity, the need for trade to shore up a sagging economy. Even after the politicians and court officials were forced to acknowledge that the empire was irrecoverably lost, formal relations were established reluctantly and slowly. Moreover, Pan-Hispanists never entirely abandoned hope that outlying parts of the empire might be recovered, that Spanish princes might be placed on American thrones, and/or that military alliances might bind Spain and America together in some sort of new political union.

The year 1866 marked the end of the first phase of the Pan-Hispanic movement. The reannexation of the Dominican Republic, the intervention in Mexico, and the war with Peru and her west coast allies "fed the fires of Hispanophobia throughout the Hemisphere" for many years. These political ambitions of the government, often supported by the cultural and literary devotees of Pan-Hispanism, undermined earlier successes gained by stressing the kinship between Spain and Spanish America, and the threat to Hispanic culture and to political independence from the Anglo-American Colossus of the North.

Despite its several excellent qualities, Van Aken's work suffers from two weaknesses. First, the Spanish-American side of the story is at best hinted at for the very good reason, as the author points out, that this is "beyond the limited resources of a single historian." Secondly, the author's style for the most part is heavy and uninspiring, while a more careful editing job would have eliminated several occurrences of repetition of material. A selective bibliography and an adequate index round out this excellent monograph.

KARL M. SCHMITT

*University of Texas*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

With this first number of the new Volume XLVI the REVIEW is pleased to welcome two new advisory editors in William J. Coleman, M.M., of Maryknoll Seminary and Marshall Dill, Jr., of the Dominican College of San Rafael. Father Coleman's specialty is the history of Catholicism in Latin America and the history of the missions. His undergraduate work was done at St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, and his graduate training was received at the University of Illinois and the Catholic University of America. He took the doctorate in 1950 at the latter with a dissertation entitled *The First Apostolic Delegation in Rio de Janeiro and Its Influence in Spanish America. A Study in Papal Policy, 1830-1840* (Washington, 1950). In preparation for his doctoral dissertation, following a six months' study tour of Latin America, Father Coleman spent the years 1945-1947 doing research in the Vatican Archives. From 1950 to 1956 he taught at and later directed Maryknoll's Colegio Gonzalo Correa in Molina, Chile, and during that time published a monograph on the restoration of the Chilean hierarchy. Since 1956 he has been professor of church history and missiology in Maryknoll Seminary. His most recent publication was a brochure on current trends in the Church of Latin America entitled *Latin American Catholicism. A Self-Evaluation* (Maryknoll, 1958). Mr. Dill, a San Franciscan by birth, received his undergraduate training at Stanford University where he took his A.B. degree in 1937 and then went to Harvard for graduate studies, where he received the master's degree in 1940 and the doctorate in 1949. Mr. Dill's master's thesis was entitled "Origins and Progress of the Neo-Scholastic Revival in the Nineteenth Century," and his doctoral dissertation was on "The Christian Trade Unions and Catholic Corporation in Germany, 1916-1924." From 1949 to 1955 he taught at the University of Pennsylvania and for the academic year 1955-1956 at Bard College. Since 1956 he has been professor of history in Dominican College of San Rafael. Mr. Dill's field is modern European history with emphasis on Germany and central Europe. He has published several articles in the *Review of Social Economy*, and at present is working on the volume on Germany for the University of Michigan History of the Modern World which it is expected will be published either in the autumn of this year or in the spring of 1961.

The lecture series of the Mediaeval Institute of the University of Notre Dame during the past academic year included Michel François of the Ecole Nationale des Chartes who spoke on "L'idée d'Empire en France du XIV$^{e}$ au XVI$^{e}$ siècle"; Bernard Bischoff of the University of Munich whose subject was "The Latin Setting of the Earliest French Poetry";

and J. Joseph Ryan of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies at Toronto who spoke on "The Ancient Church Law and the Ascent of the Papacy in the Eleventh Century."

At the Theodore Blegen Immigration Conference, held at the University of Minnesota on January 29-30, participants called for studies dealing with the nature and impact of Polish, Italian, and other eastern and southern European migrations to the United States. The papers presented at this symposium by leading historians of immigration will appear in book form during the coming year.

On January 31 the Georgetown University Forum had as the subject of its televised program "Rights and Liberties in Early Maryland." The participants in this panel discussion were Verne E. Chatelain of the University of Maryland, Gerald Griffin of the Washington bureau of the Baltimore *Sun*, and Thomas O. Hanley, S.J., of Marquette University. Father Hanley's recent book, *Their Rights and Liberties: the Beginnings of Religious and Political Freedom in Maryland* (Newman Press, 1959), was used as the basis for the discussion.

A series of eight lectures sponsored by the Lowell Institute was presented in the Boston Public Library between February 29 and March 28 by Francis M. Rogers, professor of Romance languages and literature in Harvard University. Calling the general subject "Geo-Theo-Politics in the Age of Discovery," the lecturer emphasized the circumstances whereby western Europeans became acquainted with eastern Christians through association in the Near East.

On April 2 the Department of History of St. John's University, Collegeville, sponsored a conference for Minnesota High School Teachers of History under the direction of the Service Center for Teachers of History, Washington, D. C. The following topics received particular attention: "The Study of History in High School," "Better Communication between College and High School Teachers of History," and "The High School Teacher and Preparation for College Work in History."

The Graduate School of Indiana University recently announced the opening of a new Department of History and Logic of Science. Its specific aim will be "to provide graduate students with an opportunity for scholarly historical research into the origins, evolution, and full development of the sciences, while at the same time marking their intellectual, cultural, and

social ramifications. Equally significant, and intimately co-ordinated with these historical studies, will be a program of studies examining the logical structure and methodology of the sciences."

Robert F. Byrnes, Director of the Russian and East European Institute established last summer at Indiana University, has announced the offer of fellowships for graduate students preparing themselves to teach in a college or university. The fellowships are granted under Title IV of the National Defense Education Act and provide a rare opportunity for superior candidates for the doctorate in history, political science, economics, geography, and Slavic literatures of the areas mentioned. The institute's program also fulfills the conditions required for Ford Foundation Foreign Area Fellowships. Professor Byrnes is first vice president of the American Catholic Historical Association for 1960.

From the Abbey of Montserrat in Spain comes a new journal called *Studia Monastica* and edited by García M. Colomás and an international board of co-directors. Appearing twice yearly, it will provide studies on all aspects of monasticism together with bibliographical information, accounts of congresses and meetings in these fields.

Professor Margherita Guarducci has spent five years deciphering the texts of the *graffiti* discovered in the recent excavations under St. Peter's in Rome. Her conclusions are now published in three monumental volumes that point emphatically to her industry and learning while tackling one of the most discouraging enterprises in the whole field of epigraphy. [*I graffiti sotto la confessione di San Pietro in Vaticano,* 3 vols. (Libreria Editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano, 1958)]. Her conclusions are commented upon by another archeologist whose interest in these excavations is well known, J. M. C. Toynbee, in the *Dublin Review,* 481 (Autumn, 1959), 234-244.

The *acta* of three controversial saints are again under hagiographical scrutiny. The legend of St. Barbara written by the Augustinian friar Jean de Wackerzeele whose *floruit* extended through the second half of the fourteenth century is studied by Baudouin de Gaiffier in *Analecta Bollandiana,* 77 (1959), 5-41.

The question of St. Patrick and the dates of his stay in Ireland is also a subject of current dispute. The traditionalists such as Aubrey Gwynn, S.J., Seán mac Airt, Tomás o'Fiaich, John Ryan, S.J., Paul Grosjean, S.J., believing Patrick to have been in Ireland from 432 to his death in 461, are looking forward to 1961 as a fifteen-hundredth anniversary

celebration. James Carney rejects these dates in the first of a series of articles. ["Comments on the Present State of the Patrician Problem," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record,* 152 (July, 1959), 1-28.] He is impressed with the general two-Patrick theory of T. F. O'Rahilly and holds that the saint was in Ireland from 456 to 493.

When the Bollandist Papenbroch questioned the historicity of the Carmelite claim to origins in pre-Christian times, controversy became so sharp that Innocent XII in 1698 imposed silence on the question. Robert A. Koch now brings interesting new light on the derivation of the legend by examining the typographical evidence found in mediaeval sculpture. ["Elijah the Prophet, Founder of the Carmelite Order," *Speculum,* 34 (October, 1959), 547-560.]

The fifth centenary of the birth of Pope Adrian VI was celebrated last year by the University of Louvain, where Adrian of Utrecht had been a student, professor, rector, and chancellor. The articles of the July-October issue of *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* (Vol. XXXV, Fasc. 3) are studies of the life and work of the last non-Italian pope.

Almost 500 pages of the 1959 issue of *Ephemerides Carmeliticae* (Vol. X) are devoted to articles concerning the life of St. Teresa Margherita of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (Anna Maria Redi). Not only is the influence of her father and her four spiritual directors treated in detail, but a vivid picture is also drawn of the convent of the Discalced Carmelite nuns in Florence in the eighteenth century.

Drawing upon new sources, R. Boudens, O.M.I., professor in the theologate of Gijzegem in Belgium, examines the fateful career of Félicité de Lamennais. He presents a reappraisal of the liberal lines of Lamennais' plans for the restoration of the Church in post-revolutionary France. ["Lamennais, Le Catholicisme libéral," and "Lamennais, Le drame intérieur," *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa,* 29 (April-June, 1959), 166-180; 29 (July-September, 1959), 298-321.]

The December issue of the *Historical Magazine* of the Protestant Episcopal Church is devoted to the history of that denomination in Texas. Included are three biographical articles on Alexander Gregg, first Bishop of Texas (1859-1893); Caleb Smith Ives, the Anglican priest who founded Christ Church at Matagorda; and William Fairfax Gray, the layman who founded Christ Church Cathedral at Houston.

Church and State relationship in domestic and international affairs continues to be a lively area of discussion, especially in inter-faith dialogue. Mother Patricia Barrett, R.S.C.J., professor of government at Maryville College of the Sacred Heart, St. Louis, Missouri, has compiled a most helpful bibliography of recent works in this field. It appears in *Theology Digest*, 7 (Autumn, 1959), 185-190; part two will be in the winter issue.

To honor the eightieth birthday of Felix Maria Cappello, S.J., *Periodica de re morali, canonica, liturgica* lists his many writings and presents nineteen articles by former students, some of which deal with historico-canonical questions [48 (1959)].

The Fulham Papers, which contain the letters sent by colonial clergymen to their bishop in England, will soon be classified and catalogued, according to an announcement of the General Theological Seminary in New York City. The seminary, which is sponsoring the project, has appointed William W. Manross a research fellow to undertake the work. Dr. Manross is at present librarian and lecturer in church history at the Philadelphia Divinity School; he is the author of the standard history of the Episcopal Church and a leading authority on Anglican church life in the colonial period.

The collection of letters includes files of correspondence from every colony extending back for more than a century before the American Revolution and covering such topics of historical interest as the religious state of the local population, the territorial expansion of the colonies, and contacts with dissenters and Indians. These letters and numerous petitions contain a rich abundance of biographical information; moreover, there are papers relating to the proceedings of local assemblies, to legal actions, the colleges, and a wide range of miscellaneous subjects.

Now housed in the Lambeth Palace Library, London, the Fulham Papers will be repaired, arranged, and bound in some seventy-five volumes. A generous gift of the American Ambassador to the Court of St. James', John Hay Whitney, has completed the funds needed for the two-year project. The comprehensive catalogue planned for publication by the General Theological Seminary will include a full index of persons and places mentioned and will make possible for the first time the systematic study of all the materials.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives 1,463 containers of microfilms of documents from the archives of the former German Foreign Office relating to the Weimar period. With completion

of this transfer the bulk of the microfilms relating to the period 1918-1933 is available at the National Archives. Inquiries concerning the purchase of copies of these microfilms should be addressed to the National Archives and Records Service, Washington 25, D. C.

The REVIEW wishes to extend its congratulations to John J. Meng, president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1945, upon his appointment as president of Hunter College. Dr. Meng joined the Hunter faculty in 1949 as professor of history after teaching assignments at the Catholic University of America and Queens College, and since 1952 he has been dean of administration at Hunter.

On February 14 at a ceremony in the Cathedral of St. Paul, James P. Shannon, president of the College of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota, and author of *Catholic Colonization on the Western Frontier* (Yale University Press, 1957), received the robes proper to the rank of domestic prelate to which he had been raised by Pope John XXIII.

Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., who has been head of the Department of History in the University of Notre Dame since 1939, has been succeeded in that post by Marshall Smelser. Mr. Smelser took his undergraduate work at Quincy College and his graduate training at Harvard University where he earned the doctorate in 1948. After teaching assignments at St. Louis University and the College of St. Thomas, he joined the faculty at Notre Dame in 1947 and was made a full professor in 1957. He was a Forrestal Fellow at the United States Naval Academy during the year 1956-1957. Mr. Smelser's field of specialization is American colonial history. Father McAvoy will continue as professor of history, custodian of the University's manuscript collections in American Catholic history, and managing editor of the *Review of Politics*.

A. L. Gabriel, director of the Mediaeval Institute at the University of Notre Dame, in his capacity of regent of the International University of Comparative Sciences, Luxembourg, participated in the opening ceremonies of the European communities' study program, which was presided over by Robert Schuman, president of the European parliament. Professor Gabriel addressed the faculty and student body of the International University on "University Privileges" and "History of the University of Paris."

The Francis Parkman Prize for 1959 has been awarded by the Society of American Historians to Matthew Josephson for his book entitled *Edison, a Biography*. This prize, consisting of $500 in cash and an inscribed scroll, is given annually for that book on American history or biography published during the year which, in the opinion of a committee of award, has the highest literary distinction in addition to sound historical scholarship.

The Society for Italian Historical Studies has announced a prize of $200 for the best unpublished study in the history of Italy. Entries must be of article or essay length. Further information on the rules governing the competition may be obtained from Professor Howard R. Marraro, the executive secretary-treasurer of the society, at the following address: Casa Italiana, Columbia University, New York 27, New York.

# BRIEF NOTICES

*Das östliche Deutschland,* herausgegeben vom Göttinger Arbeitskreis (Würzburg: Holzner-Verlag. 1959. Pp. 1014. DM 48.)

The Göttinger Research Committee is one of the principal unofficial German agencies working to keep alive Germany's rights to her lands east of the Oder-Neisse Line which are still under Polish and Russian administration. *Das östliche Deutschland* represents the committee's most ambitious publication to date.

*Das östliche Deutschland* is a *Handbuch,* a favorite German format for combining breadth of historical perspective with moderate depths. It consists of twenty-one essays by as many eminent contributors, among whom may be mentioned Werner Frauendienst, Herbert Marzian, Eberhard Menzel, Herbert Kraus, Freiherr von Braun, and Bruno Gleitze. Their essays fall into four sections: international law, history, economics, and Germans in Bohemia and Moravia. Each is equipped with a bibliography, often of nearly 200 titles in all languages. Twelve essays are historical in the strict sense of the word, but all are of interest to the historian. Most crucial aspects of German relations with her Slavic neighbors are touched upon, so that the book is useful to students of both Slavic and Germanic affairs. Naturally, the German viewpoint prevails, despite the generally balanced approach. Although there is no separate treatment of ecclesiastical matters, the role of the Church is adequately handled, especially in regard to the original German colonization in eastern Europe, and in the description of Polish national resistance to Prussianization.

Without reservation it can be said that *Das östliche Deutschland* is an indispensable book. An English translation now being undertaken will render it even more useful to Americans, who are seriously handicapped by the paucity of English-language publications dealing intelligently with the areas and problems discussed in this large volume. (RAYMOND H. SCHMANDT)

DAVIES-EVANS, JOHN. *Malta.* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc. 1959. Pp. 255. $5.50.)

Malta is one tiny island in the Mediterranean that never ceases to fascinate historians because of its untapped wealth of research opportunities in every phase of the development of European civilization. Scholars and laymen alike in the field of archaeology will follow Davies-Evans' meticu-

lous and well illustrated exposition of pre-historic Malta in his new book, which will be expanded into a scientific, governmental survey report.

He clarifies, he corrects, he augments, and he cancels out the researches of many distinguished predecessors as he carries us through the third and second millennia B.C. by carefully relating the two key periods and cultures with a heretofore unknown accuracy to the Minoan and Mycenean civilizations of the Aegean island world. Not only does the work fuse Malta into Grecian origins, but it postulates with frequent precision the links to both Sicily and the heel of the Italian mainland. Even so, there remain not a few anthropological gaps in the megalithic eras unanswered by the temple and pottery excavations. The Maltese, so keenly conscious of their identity, will take delight in discovering that their pre-history demonstrates they were often more advanced than their mainland neighbors, and they will be confirmed in their old judgment that they were not tied to any African motivation or formation. Davies-Evans' years out in Malta culminated most aptly in a professorship at the University of London. (HARRISON SMITH)

FOURREY, RENÉ. *The Cure d'Ars. A Pictorial Biography.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1959. Pp. 215. $10.00.)

Jean Marie Vianney and the village of Ars have been prominent in Catholic thought of late because of the centenary of the curé's death. This volume, the latest of a number which have recently appeared—a fact noted by the eminent author of the foreword—represents a new approach to the study of the curé and achieves an insight into the character and spirituality of the saint of Ars which makes for very interesting reading. The method of presentation by the author, who is the ordinary of the Diocese of Belley in which Ars is located, will have particular appeal for students of St. Jean Vianney and his way of life. Frequently, a phrase or sentence is taken from the writings of the holy man and used as a theme for a lengthy consideration, at times, for an even an entire chapter. This method has the advantage of bringing the reader into a close contact with the saint. What is more, to heighten this sense of contact, quotations from the writings of Saint Jean Marie are used frequently and with great effectiveness. There may be some who feel that overemphasis is given to the saint's extraordinary mortifications, or to the peculiar relationship that existed between him and his curate. The danger is that such overemphasis could make the curé of Ars less approachable than he should be to the faithful and to priests of our own day.

The text, unfortunately, is quite brief and it is the reviewer's belief that the volume will be best appreciated by those who have already come to know in greater detail the life and works of the saint from other sources.

It is an excellent vignette; but because of its brevity, it slights to some degree at least an appreciation of this holy priest which in a volume of this kind should have a more prominent place. At times the translator renders a disservice by her choice of the unusual rather than the simple word; and the style suffers not only because it is a translation but also because of the frequent introduction of quotations which destroys its continuity.

By far the largest portion of the volume is given over to photographs and pictures relating to St. Jean Vianney and the scenes of his labors. The captions to the pictures are separated from the photographs which makes an appreciation of the pictures difficult and awkward. It would have been better to present picture and caption together. (JOSEPH B. COYNE)

HANDLIN, OSCAR. *Boston's Immigrants, A Study in Acculturation.* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1959. Pp. xvii, 382. $6.75.)

This revised and enlarged edition of Professor Handlin's 1941 study, as is well known, focusses attention on an important segment of the immigrant population; and in treating the leading role of the Irish the author has skilfully portrayed their struggle to assimilate to American life. But no substantial changes have been incorporated into the new edition. The only chapter that is noticeably revised and enlarged is the final one, where the author has extended the termination date from 1865 to 1880. In this concluding chapter it becomes clear that the Irish, without leaders, were late in coming to the fore in the political and social life of the city. By 1880, however, these immigrants, led by men like Patrick Donahoe, Patrick Collins, John Boyle O'Reilly (who, by the way, became editor of the *Pilot* in 1870, not 1876), Hugh O'Brien, and others, were on the verge of breaching the wall of ostracism.

The author's chief contribution here has been the buttressing of his original thesis by his own further research and that of several Harvard University dissertations done under his direction, along with the incorporation of other studies that have been completed in the last eighteen years. As a consequence, the bibliography and tables of statistics from the early edition have been supplemented and enhanced, and some of the original footnotes have been enlarged. Nevertheless, for a revised edition, there have been few textual changes. The original edition, furthermore, had the footnotes at the bottom of their respective pages rather than at the end of the text, as in the revised edition. By his keen analysis, however, Professor Handlin has captured the real dichotomy between the Boston of Yankee tradition and the city after the arrival of the immigrant. (FRANCIS G. MCMANAMIN)

KETTLE, L. J. (Ed.). *Material for Victory: the Memoirs of Andrew J. Kettle.* (Dublin: Fallon. 1958. Pp. 132, xxi. 12s.6d.)

A Catholic nationalist and hard working farmer near Dublin, Andrew J. Kettle, played a minor but interesting part in the Irish Home Rule movement and land struggle from the 1870's to the 1890's. The author took a keen interest not only in the fight against the landlords, but, also, in the claims of agricultural laborers to a share in the land. The chief interest of these memoirs, however, lies in the author's comments on Parnell to whom he appears to have been an intimate adviser on certain political and agrarian matters. For Kettle, who was no hero-worshipper, Parnell towered above the Irishmen of his time, but other leaders, particularly Davitt, come in for high, though qualified, praise. Unfortunately, Kettle kept virtually no records and wrote the memoirs apparently from unaided memory and over twenty years after the events described. Thus their value as an historical source is limited. It is a pity that the editor did not add, as an appendix, the letters which Kettle frequently sent to the press during the years of his political activity. These might serve as a check on the accuracy of the memoirs and thus help to establish more precisely their historical worth. Nevertheless, the obvious modesty and sincerity of the author leaves the reader with a sense of the atmosphere of the Parnellite period which, in itself, makes the publication of the memoirs worthwhile. (MAURICE R. O'CONNELL)

KORBEL, JOSEF. *The Communist Subversion of Czechoslovakia, 1938-1948. The Failure of Coexistence.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1959. Pp. xii, 258. $5.00.)

Here is the tragic day-by-day chronicle of the Communist betrayal of the democratic Republic of Czechoslovakia as told by a former member of Jan Masaryk's cabinet. The book is painstaking, readable, and conscientious. It will remain a major contribution to central eastern European history long after the Communist documents and the Beneš archives will have been opened to research, for Korbel brings firsthand information to his task. The timeliness of the publication is self-evident. No thinking man in the free world can afford to ignore the documentation that in the case of Czechoslovakia, Communism employed co-existence as a weapon of conquest rather than a tool for peace. Bedevilled by its position between two super-powers and disillusioned by the Munich sacrifice, Czechoslovakia oriented its foreign policy toward Soviet Russia in the belief that a *modus vivendi* could be effected. Here was a constitutional democracy freely embracing co-existence. February, 1948, however, ended the futile flirtation when the Communist putsch, abetted by Soviet brute force, imposed complete "communization."

In a sense the book is a post-mortem on Stalin's awareness of the geopolitical importance of the European "heartland." "Who rules the Heartland rules the World Island. Who rules the World Island rules the world," had been the thesis which Hitler's *Mittel Europa* had sought to implement, but the real inheritor of that achievement was Stalin. Korbel's treatment is documentary proof that Soviet Russia pursued "a preconceived determined" policy in the heartland while the western democracies were devoid of policy relevant to that area—soon enough. Czechoslovak Communist infiltration had gone too far ahead to be stemmed by the Marshall Plan. Another main Korbel thesis is: Communists pledge their first allegiance, not to the national government, but to Moscow. Czechoslovak democrats were, indeed, unrealistic in their reasoning that Gottwalds and Fierlingers were Czechs first and Communists only second. The old Czech proverb best summarizes the disillusionment of the democrats in their search for a *modus vivendi:* "Do good to the devil, he will repay with damnation." It is to be hoped that this volume will serve the free world as a *magistra vitae.* (Mother Francis de Sales Boran)

Lewis, D. B. Wyndham. *A Florentine Portrait: Saint Philip Benizi (1233-1285).* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1959. Pp. 137. $3.00.)

Among the attractive early members of the Servite Order is the name of Philip Benizi. A contemporary of Dante in thirteenth-century Florence, student at the University of Paris for four years, doctor of medicine from the University of Padua in 1253, this scion of a prosperous and noble merchant family the next year closed his medical books for the last time and walked to the priory at Cafaggio where he presented himself to one of the seven holy founders to become a Servant of Mary. A "cradle saint," to use the jargon of the twentieth century, Philip, first a humble lay brother at his own choice and through the consent of his superiors, was ordained to the priesthood in 1259. Master of Novices at Siena in 1261, assistant to the general, St. Manetto, in 1264, St. Philip was, in 1267, unanimously elected fifth general of the rapidly expanding order.

The story of the rest of his career is one of weary travel and worry, of success and failure, of prayer and sacrifice for the cause of Christ and His Church. The sources have been lost in the mist of centuries, and in the reconstruction of Philip's life the author uses his imagination and draws freely upon his wide knowledge of mediaeval Florence and Italy. It is easy to disagree with many of the facile statements in the book, e.g., that the rule of practically all the great orders is based on that of St. Augustine, but one comes from the book with the realization that here is a neat literary reconstruction of one of the lesser known, but illustrious, saints of the thirteenth century. (Henry A. Callahan)

LOFTIS, JOHN. *Comedy and Society from Congreve to Fielding.* (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 1959. Pp. ix, 154. $4.00.)

Professor Loftis of Stanford analyzes the interaction of comedy and society in England from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century for the purpose of documenting the oft-repeated observations that a change in the social orientation of comedy occurred in the early years of the eighteenth century and that the middle class exerted a strong influence on comedy. He examines a large number of comedies to show that Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Farquhar wrote with an anti-mercantile bias and continued the "Restoration stereotypes." After the War of the Spanish Succession, however, a change occurred, and presently dramatists were generally sympathetic to merchants. The comedies of the 1730's centered around the intrigues of fashionable rich merchants, the gentry, and the nobility. After 1728, in the opinion of the author, comedy was aggressively critical. To illustrate, Loftis studies Gay's *The Beggars' Opera* perceptively. Gay submits the hierarchical order of London society to analysis by the device of inverting the classes. Highwaymen and beggars are considered to be more important than the wealthy and privileged by the dramatist, who drives home his point that men are fundamentally alike regardless of rank. This interesting volume is neatly documented but, unfortunately, places the notes at the end. (GAETANO L. VINCITORIO)

SHOEMAKER, ROBERT W. *The Origin and Meaning of the Name "Protestant Episcopal."* (New York: American Church Publications. 1959. Pp. xx, 338. $3.95.)

The present volume is occasioned by a dispute within the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States. Many of its members have long disliked the official title of their denomination. Proposals to change its name were made before the Civil War and since 1877 the issue has been raised at every session save three of the triennial general conventions. With low churchmen proclaiming they are Protestant and high churchmen protesting they are Catholic, the debate has been partisan and bitter.

The author, professor of history at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, seeks to diffuse light by an investigation spanning five centuries of the evolution of ecclesiastical terminology. While for the past 150 years "Protestant" has meant "non-Catholic," he finds that for many years the word was in English equivalent to the modern term "Anglican," i.e., non-papal, but not necessarily non-Catholic. His research has unearthed a number of interesting and unusual uses of terms. For this reason the book is of interest to others than Episcopalians. (FRANCIS X. CURRAN)

SIMON, EDITH. *The Piebald Standard: a Biography of the Knights Templars.* (Boston: Little Brown and Co. 1959. Pp. vii, 358. $5.00.)

Miss Simon, an English writer and the author of several historical novels, has in this volume tried her hand at straight history rather than historical fiction. She is of the opinion that in the protracted scholarly discussion regarding the "goodness" or "badness" of the Templars, "the subject seems to have become detached from its general context, in which alone it can be understood: the context of the life, institutions, and ideas, as well as the military events and manifold political import, of the crusading era." She has, therefore, sought to supply this context in her "biography" of the celebrated, but ill-fated religio-military order. The author, who is not a professional historian, is better equipped to tell a good story than to essay the difficult task of interpreting a past age or of presenting the many problems connected with the history of the Templars. It is the reviewer's opinion that *The Piebald Standard* should be enjoyed for what it is, a good rousing narrative, and not censured for not being what it does not pretend to be, a scholarly study. Serious students of the history of the Templars, of the crusades, and of the papacy will turn elsewhere. There are several excellent illustrations and maps. The title, "The Piebald Standard," is taken from Matthew of Paris whom the author quotes at the end of the volume. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

YARMOLINSKY, AVRAHAM. *Road to Revolution.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1959. Pp. xiii, 369. $5.95.)

There are essentially two kinds of scholarly books: those which reveal new facts and those which provide new interpretations of already known ones or retell them in such a skillful and graceful way as to stimulate the reader. The work of Dr. Yarmolinsky, a native of Russia, a former Chief of the Slavonic Division of the New York Public Library, and now professor at the City College of New York, belongs to the second category. The book narrates intelligently, skillfully, and attractively the dramatic, and mostly tragic story of the nineteenth-century revolutionary movement of Russia, from Alexander Radishchev to the end of the People's Will, and the great famine of 1891-1892. The author emphasizes the continuity and the depth of the moral protest against the Tsarist oppression and social injustice, as well as the impact of western ideas on Russian political thinking.

The reader in this country may be interested in a variety of details showing how strong was the influence of the American Revolution on eastern Europe. The first tract advocating a thorough political and social reform, including abolition of serfdom, Radishchev's *A Journey from*

*Petersburg to Moscow*, written between 1781 and 1783, was to a large extent inspired by the revolt of the thirteen colonies. Radishchev apostrophized Washington as an unconquerable warrior guided by liberty. Radishchev wanted Russia to have a constitution similar to that of the United States. He addressed the Republic, rejoicing in its newly acquired freedom: "You jubilate while we suffer here. . . . If I could at least be buried in America!" The American Revolution had also its influence on the Decembrist uprising. One of their leaders, Nikita Muravyov, drafting a constitution for Russia, visualized his native country organized as a federation of thirteen regions. Another Decembrist, Ryleyev, an employee of the Russo-American Company, exploiting Russian possessions in California, in one of his verses calls the United States the only country in the world with a sensible government.

Professor Yarmolinsky's work is a valuable addition to the growing collection of American books on Russia: it may be read with profit and enjoyment both by the general reader with a taste for Russian history and by a more sophisticated student of eastern European history. (M. K. Dziewanowski)

# PERIODICAL LITERATURE

## GENERAL

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